HISTORY

OFTHE

REVOLUTIONS

That happened in the GOVERNMENT of the

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

Monf. L'ABBE DE VERTOT.

By Mr. OZELL.

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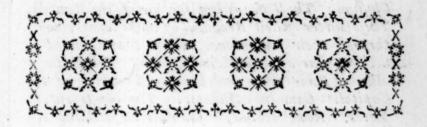
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BOOK VII.

The Romans invest the city of Veil, which costs them a ten years siege. A Tribune of the people proposes to make that city a second Rome, by sending half of the senate, of the knights and of the people, to inhabit it. The Senators, with much struggling, bring this design to nothing. Camillus being attacked by the Tribunes, leaves Rome, and takes refuge in Ardea. An army of Gauls, commanded Vol. II.

by Brennus, penetrates into Tuscany, and besieges Clusium. The Tuscans beg succour of the Romans, These latter folicit Brennus by ambassadors, who, through their imprudence, oblige that General to declare war against their country. The battle of Allia. Rome taken and brunt. The fiege of the Capitol. Camillus Dictator. The Gauls cut in pieces. Rome rebuilt. Manlius Capitolinus accused of aspiring to be made King of Rome, is thrown headlong from the top of the Capitol. After a great many cabals and stirs, which the Plebeians had in vain made, to procure one of the places in the Confulship for their own body, they at last obtain what they so earnestly desire, and owe this success to the tears of a woman. Sextius is the first Plebeian Conful. The Prature. The Curule Ædility. These two new dignities are appropriated to the Patricians, in exclusion of the Plebeians. C. Licinius Stolo, author of the Lex Licinia, is the first that is punished for violating it.

ESIDES the ease of the people, the Senate, in allotting funds for the payment of the troops, had at the fame time a view of enabling themselves to carry on the war farther, and maintain it longer *. Before this regulation, they did not so much make war as incurfions, which were generally terminated by one battle. These petty wars lasted not above twenty or thirty days, and oftentimes not fo long; the foldiers, for want of pay, not being able to keep the field for a long time together. But when the Senate faw it in their power to keep up a regular body of troops at Year of all times, they formed greater projects, and laid a defign to besiege Veii, one of Rome, the ftrongest places in Italy, the bulwark of Tuscany, and which yielded to Rome 347. neither in the valour nor wealth of its inhabitants.

[·] Liv. in fine, !. 4. Died. 1. 14.

The Tuscans lived under a republic, like the Sabins, the Volsci, the Romans, and most of the other nations of Italy. The city of Veil only, which was the most powerful of that community, had lately chosen themselves a king; and this change in the government had made the other petty states of that province less zealous for its interests.

The Romans, informed of this indifference, refolved to take revenge for the devastations which the Veientes had made in the territory of Rome. After having put an advantageous conclusion to the war against the Volsci, they made it their whole care to raise such a powerful army, as might be an-

swerable to the greatness of this enterprize.

Livy tells us*, they chuse eight Military Tribunes on purpose, which had never been known before in the republic; though other historians take notice but of six. We find another difference in authors, upon occasion of this siege; some place the Tribunate of M. Furius Camillus, and of Appius Claudius Crassus, in the 348th year of Rome; and others say, they did not attain that dignity till the 350th. Neither is it very certain whether Camillus was not rather Censor this year, than Military Tribune. Whichsoever of these different opinions be right, we shall find, by the sequel of this history, that these two magistrates had the chief glory of this war.

Appius was grandson of the Decemvir, and son of another Appius Claudius, who was Military Tribune in the 329th year from the soundation of Rome. This conformity of both names, which we so often meet with in the senators of the Claudian family, shows that they were all the eldest sons of their house, according to the practice of Rome, where the eldest son always bore the same name as his father; whereas the younger were distinguished by names, either from the order of their birth, or

Dec. 1 l. 3. c. 1. + Val. Max. l. 2. c. 9.

from the time or hour in which they were named. Appius stayed at Rome to curb the Tribunes, and to suppress the usual seditions of the people; Camillus, in quality of Military Tribune, and afterwards as

Dictator, brought this war to a happy iffue.

We may judge of the strength of the Year of place by the length of the fiege, which Rome lasted ten whole years, with various suc-3.18. The Roman generals, rather than discontinue it, built lodgments to defend the foldiers against the severities of winter. The Tribunes had no fooner heard of this, but they immediately made it a pretence to raise their common outcry against the Senate. They faid in every assembly. That indeed they always feared, the gifts of the Senate concealed some hidden poison: that this new pay, which they valued themselves so much upon, was only a bait which the Patricians had made use of to deceive the people: that indeed it had been the price of their liberty: that the Military Tribunes, by detaining the foldiers in the camp during winter, had visibly no other end, but to deprive the people's party of the help of their votes: that the Senate and Patricians would now reign despotically in all the affemblies: but that they ought to make them know, that they governed men who were free; and that the people should order the generals to bring the troops back to Rome at the end of every campaign, that the poor citizen who daily exposed his life in the defence of his country, might enjoy a little rest, have the pleasure of seeing his house, his wife and his children, and give his voice in the election of the magistrates.

Appius, whom the Military Tribunes had left at Rome, to oppose the measures of the Tribunes of the people, being informed of these feditious speeches, called an assembly *, and complained at first with a great deal of gentleness and moderation,

^{*} Liv. l. 5. c. 3. Plut. in Cam. Orof. l. 2. c. 19.

That the Forum was become the public rendezvous of all the mutinous spirits, and the theatre of all feditions: that they publicly despised the senate, the magistrates, and the laws: and that the Tribunes of the people had now nothing farther to do, but to go into the very camp to corrupt the army, and draw it away from its obedience to its generals. He reproached them, that they studied nothing but how to break off all union between the feveral orders of the state; that they were the only authors of all divisions; that they were every day fomenting them by their feditious harangues; and that, greater enemies to Rome than the Veientes themselves, they matter'd little how the fiege went, provided they hinder'd the Patrician generals from obtaining glory in it. "We should either not have undertaken " this fiege, added he, or we should continue it. " Shall we abandon our camp, our legions, the " forts we have erected from distance to distance, " our towers, our mantelets and our gabions; and " fo have all the fame works to begin again the " next fummer? But who will promife your Tri-" bunes, who give you fuch wholfome advice, that " all Tuscany, facrificing the aversion they have " for the King of the Veientes to the true interest " of their country, will not take arms, and come " to their affistance? can you so much as doubt " that the Veientes, during the intermission of the " fiege, will put troops and ammunition into the " town? who can affure you, that they will not " even be beforehand with you the next year; and " that grown stronger, and provoked by the ravage " we have made of their lands, they will not come " and plunder ours? But what contempt will it not " bring upon the republic, if the nations border-" ing upon Rome, who are now jealous of her " greatness, shall find that your generals, fetter'd " by the new laws of your Tribunes, dare not " finish a siege, nor keep the field a moment after A 3

" the fine weather is over? whereas nothing will make the Roman people more dreadful, than

" their showing that no severity of the seasons is

" able to put a stop to their enterprizes; and that they are firmly resolved to conquer, or die at the

" foot of the enemies ramparts."

The people, prejudized by their Tribunes, gave no great heed to Appius's representations; but a loss which the Romans fuffered at the fiege, brought about what that prudent discourse could not effect. The Veientes in a fally furprized the besiegers, slew a great number of them, fet fire to their machines. and ruined most of their works. This news, instead of depressing the spirits of the Romans, inspired them with new ardor for the continuation of the fiege *. The Knights, whom the state was to furnish Year of with horses, offered to mount themselves at their own expence. The people after Rome, their example cried out, they were ready 350. to march to supply the places of the foldiers that were loft, and fwore they would never leave the camp till the city was taken. The fenate gave great praises to all. It was resolved to allow pay to all the voluntiers that would go to the fiege. At the fame time they fettled a particular pay for the horse, and this was the first time that the cavalry was paid out of the public treasury +.

The Tribunes of the people faw, not without great uneafiness and jealousy, that this loss, instead of raising the complaints and murmurs of the multitude, had only increased the warmth and courage of all orders and degrees, for the carrying on of the siege. But a new defeat furnished them with an occasion and pretence of inveighing against the

Senate with impunity.

The Capenates and Falisci, people of Tus-Rome, cany, nearest to the Veientes, and consequently most concerned in their preservation, armed privately. They joined their

Plut. in Camillo. V. Orof. L. 2 c. 19. † Liv. l. 5. c. 7. troops,

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troops, furprized and attacked the enemies camp. L. Virginius, and Mr. Sergius, both Military Tribunes, commanded at this fiege. The jealoufy, fo common in an equal authority, had fet them at variance: each had a body of troops under his command, which were divided as it were into two different camps. The enemies on one fide fall upon that of Sergius, at the fame time that the belieged make a fally by agreement, and attack the other. The foldier, who thinks he has all the forces in Tuscany to deal with, is dismay'd, fights faintly, and rather to defend his own life, than to attack his enemy's. It is not long before he feeks his fafety in a hafty flight; all give way, and the rout becomes general. None but Virginius could fave his colleague's army. His troops were ranged in order of battle; but the animofity between those two generals was fo great, that Sergius chofe rather to perish, than to ask the affistance of one he hated. Virginius, on his fide, overjoyed to fee him beaten, refused his own officers leave to go to his succour, unless he would fend and beg it. The enemy improved the division of the leaders: Sergius's army fled in diforder to Rome, which was but fix leagues distant from the camp, and Sergius went thither himself, not so much to justify his own conduct, as to fet forth the blackness of that of his colleague.

The Senate, in this confusion, sent orders to Virginius to leave his army under the command of his lieutenants, and repair immediately to Rome, to answer to the complaints which his colleague preferred against him. The dispute was managed with great acrimony, and the two Military Tribunes ran into invectives against each other. The Senate finding them equally guilty, the one in not having fought with sufficient courage, and the other in suffering his fellow citizens to perish, rather than save his colleague, decreed that all the Tribunes of that year should lay down their dignity, and the

people

people immediately proceed to a new election. The two Tribunes at first argued against paying obedience to this decree, under pretence that their authority was not expired. The Tribunes of the people laid hold of this occasion to enlarge their power, and threatned the two generals that they would caufe them to be imprisoned, if they did not obey the Senate's orders. Servilius Ahala, the first Military Tribune, full of indignation at the haughty manner in which these Plebeian magistrates treated his colleagues: "You have no right, fays he, to threaten " those who are superior to you in dignity. My " colleagues are not ignorant of the submission we " all owe to the decrees of the Senate; and if they " are refractory to its commands, I will name a dicta-" tor, who by his absolute authority shall be able, " without your interpolition, to force them to quit " their office."

The two Tribunes finding it impossible to resist this unanimous consent of the Senate, abdicated their magistracy, and the people proceeded to a new election.

But the Tribunes of the people were not fatiffied with the deposal of those two generals; and while those who were chosen in their room led a new army to the siege of Veii, those Plebeian magistrates summoned Sergius and Virginius before the assembly of the people. They forgot nothing, upon this occasion, that might inflame the minds of the multitude, not only against the two persons accused, but also against the whole body of the Senate.

They represented with as much art as malice, rear of Rome,

352. That the fole aim of that society was to diminish the number of the people, to weaken its power, to hinder its assemblies, or at least to defer the convening of them: that the late misfortune ought not to be looked upon as those common mischances which may happen

to the very greatest captains, but that it was contrived in consequence of this secret design laid to destroy the people: that the generals, after having fpent feveral campaigns in the fiege or blockade of Veii, had fuffered their gabions to be burnt, their forts to be taken, and all their works to be ruined, only to prolong the war: that, after this, Sergius's camp was fold to the enemy: that this general, rather than defire the aid of his colleague, had chose to let his foldiers be cut to pieces; and that Virginius beheld this rout of the legions as a victory, which, without his drawing his fword, delivered him and his party from fo many enemies as there were Plebeians in those troops: that, after so infamous an action, the Senate yet fancied they could impose upon the people, by obliging the two generals to leave the command of their armies: but that the people ought to flew, by a fevere punishment of the criminals, that they were not to be deceived by fo gross an artifice: that in order to prevent the ill defigns of the nobility for the future, they should fill the military tribunate with brave plebeians, who would be equally watch. ful for the defence of their country, and the particular prefervation of the people.

Sergius in vain alledged in his excuse the ordinary chance of war, the terror that was spread through his army, and the treachery of his colleague, who had abandoned, and, as it were, given him up to the enemy, who attacked him on two different sides. No distinction was made between misfortune and guilt; he was condemned to pay a great fine as well as Virginius, though he pleaded that it was unjust to punish him for the faults

of his colleague *.

The Tribunes of the people, taking advantage of the general animofity they had raifed against the Patricians, never left representing to the multi-

[.] Liv. l. s. c, 12.

tude in all the affemblies, That the time was come to free themselves from the tyranny of the Senate: that they should take the sovereign authority, and chief dignities of the republic, out of the hands of the Sergii and Virginii, and give them to Plebeians worthy of those honourable employments. They exclaim in public, that the liberty of the people was in danger: they make interest, and form cabals in private: in a word, they so bestir themfelves, that in the two next elections they get Ple-Year of beians named for Military Tribunes. A new revolution in the government of the re-Rome public, but whose consequences were fa-353, tal to the state, in feveral advantages which 354. the enemies of Rome gained over the ar-

mies commanded by Plebeians. A contagious distemper succeeded these defeats. The people in consternation had recourse to the gods; the temples were crowded day and night with men, women and children, imploring their clemency. The Duumvirs, after confulting the Year of facred books of the Sybils, ordered the Rome Lectifternium +. This was an ancient ce-Rome remony, in which they took the statues of 354. the gods down from their piches; they for eight days together ferved them up magnificent repasts, as if they had been capable of making use of them; the citizens, each according to his ability, kept open house. They invited indifferently friends and foes; strangers were particularly well received; they fet the prisoners at liberty; and it was a point of conscience, not to take them up again after the festival was over.

The Patricians taking advantage of this dispofition in mens minds, turned these misfortunes of the republic into a religious mystery. They ascribed them to the wrath of the gods, who, they said, were displeased, that in the last elections sufficient

† Liv. 1.5. c.13. Aug. de Civ. 1.3. c. 17.

regard was not had to the nobility, who alone had inspection over facrifices. These reasons, much more powerful than all the orations of the Tribunes of the people, prevailed over the minds of the multitude. Every body looked upon the missfortunes of the republic, as the infallible interpreters of the will of the gods; and for fear of provoking them more, they failed not, in the next election, to restore the military tribunate to the Patricians alone.

The fiege went on but flowly, and the whole

power of the Roman arms was spent in

Year of ravaging the lands of the enemy. The Rome war was yet more unsuccessful the fol-355, lowing year; and they obliged the Mili-356. tary Tribunes, with whom they were diffatisfied, to abdicate their dignity, under colour that fome ceremony had been omitted in the auspices taken for their election: a pretence which the two parties made use of by turns, to depose the magistrates they did not like. They had recourse upon this occasion, as in a public calamity, to a Dictator. M. Furius Camillus was raifed to this 357. supreme dignity; which he owed only to the need wherein the republic thought she stood of so great a captain: a time when superior merit, without making the least interest, naturally falls into its right place. It had already been observed, that in all the employments which Camillus had shared with colleagues, his great valour and extraordinary

capacity had gained him the honour of the whole command, as if he had governed in chief; and it was afterwards found, that, during his Dictator-fhip, he ruled with so much gentleness and moderation, that the officers who obeyed his orders, thought they took part in his authority*. He named for general of the horse P. Cornelius Scipio; and at the same time raised a great body of troops.

Plut. in vita Cam. Diod. 1. 24.

The people strove who should first list themselves. under his banners; every body was for going to the wars with a general whom victory had never deserted. The allies themselves sent to offer him a strong supply of their choicest youth. The Dictator immediately repaired to the camp before Veii: his mere presence restored the military discipline, which had been very much flackened fince the division and defeat of the Military Tribunes. place was more straitly inclosed, and the forts repaired which the enemy had ruined. He then marched against the Falisci and Capenates, whom he defeated in a pitched battle; and after this victory, which left him the country open, he returned to the fiege, and pushed it on with great vigour.

The befieged defended themselves with no less courage. The Dictator, fearing he should not carry by affault or open force a town which had a whole army for its garrison, had recourse to mines and fapping. His foldiers, by hard labour, and without being discovered by the besieged, opened themfelves a private passage to the very castle, thence they fpread themselves through the town; one body fell upon the rear of those that defended the walls; another broke down the gates; and the whole army Year of rushed into the place. The unhappy Veientes felt the first fury of the conqueror. Rome, They spared only those whom they found 357. unarmed; and the foldiers, iyet more covetous than cruel, fell to plunder with the leave of the general.

The length of the siege, the dangers there had been in it, the uncertainty of success, all this made the news of the taking this town be received at Rome with the utmost transport and joy. All the temples were filled with Roman ladies, and four days were set apart for a public thanksgiving to the Gods; which had never before been practised in the republic upon the greatest success. The very

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triumph of the Dictator had fomething particular in it. Camillus appeared in a stately chariot drawn by four horses, all milk-white.

This fingularity displeased the people. In the midst of the praises they gave the Distator, they could not, without a secret indignation, behold this chief magistrate affecting a pomp formerly reserved to the royalty, and, since the expulsion of the kings, consecrated only to the worship of the gods. This diminished their esteem and affection for Camillus: and the resistance he afterwards made against some proposals of one of the Tribunes, sinished the making him odious to the multitude.

T. Sicinius Dentatus, Tribune of the people, proposed to make a second Rome Rome, of the city of Veii, by sending thither one half of the Senate, knights, and people *. 358. He represented its situation, strength, magnificence of its buildings, and its territory more extensive and fruitful than that of Rome herself: and he added, that the Romans might the more easily by

this means preserve their conquest.

The people, always fond of novelties, received these proposals with great demonstrations of joy. The affair, according to custom, was carried first before the Senate. Camillus, who was but just out of his dictatorship, opposed it strongly. Not but that it had been a great honour to him, to see so great a town that he had conquered inhabited by Romans; and he might consider, that the more inhabitants it had, the more witnesses there would be of his glory: but he thought it was a crime to carry the Roman people into a captive land, and to prefer the country of the vanquished to that which was victor. He added, it seemed to him impossible that two such powerful cities should long continue in peace, live under the same laws, and form but

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[·] Liv ! 5. Plut. vita Camilli.

one republic: that these two cities would by degrees grow two different states; which, after having made war upon one another, would at length be-

come a prey to their common enemies.

The fenators and principal of the nobility, moved with the remonstrances of this Rome, chief citizen of the republic, declared they 359. would die in the presence of the Roman people, before they would leave their country. All of them, both old and young, went to the place where the people was affembled; and mixing with the crowd, conjured them, with tears in their eyes, not to abandon that august city, which was one day to be miftress of the whole world, and to which the Gods had made fuch glorious promifes. Then pointing to the capitol, they asked the Plebeians, if they could have the heart to leave Jupiter, Vefta, Romulus, and the other guardian dieties of the city, for a Sicinius, who, by this fatal divition, only fought to ruin the commonwealth? In a word, thefe prudent fenators having taken the people by motives of religion, they could not withftand them. vielded, though unwillingly, to that inward power, which is constantly produced by the prejudices of education. Sicinius's propofal was rejected by plurality of voices; and the Senate, as a kind of reward to the people for their compliance, decreed, Year of by the advice of Camillus, that feven acres of the lands of the Veientes, should be di-Rome, stributed to every master of a family *; 360. and in order to induce free persons to marry, and to enable them to raife children, that might in time be ferviceable to the commonwealth, a proportion should be allowed to them also.

The people, charmed with this liberality, showered great praises upon the Senate. Concord again flourished between these two orders; nay, the people,

^{*} Liv. l. s. c. 30.

in deference to the Senate, confented, the two following years, that the Confulate should be restored. Under the government of these 360, patrician magistrates the Æqui were conquered, and the Falisci submitted to the republic. All these advantages were ascribed to the wisdom and valour of Camillus. They were so many fresh injuries with respect to the Tribunes, who could not forgive him this union between the people and senate, which they looked upon as his work, and the extinction of their authority.

They would gladly have eased themselves of him, who alone was more formidable to them than the whole Senate. But it was a difficult thing to attack a man revered by his fellow-citizens for his virtues, adored by the soldier, and never found to have any other interest at heart beside that of his

country.

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His piety foon after furnished him with a pretence which their envy and hatred could not help them to. That general, just before he ordered his troops to mount the affault at the fiege of Veii, had made a vow to confecrate the tenth part of the booty to Apollo. But when the city was won, amidst the disorder and confusion of the plunder, he remembered not his vow. And when the tenderness of his conscience recalled the memory of it, every thing was gone. There was no possible way of obliging the foldiers to restore effects which they had either confumed, or otherwise parted with. In this perplexity the Senate proclaimed, that all who had any fear of the Gods, should themselves compute the value of their booty, and bring the tenth part of that value to the Questors, in order to make an offering worthy of the piety and majefty of the Roman people.

This contribution, exacted at a wrong time, irritated the people against Camillus. Their Tribunes greedily seized this occasion of falling upon him.

They recalled the memory of his triumph, in which, contrary to custom, he appeared in a chariot drawn by four white horses. They added, that this haughty Patrician, whose policy it was to keep the people always in indigence, feigned to have vowed to the Gods the tenth part of the plunder at Veii, only for a pretence of tithing the wealth of the soldier, and draining the people. Hereupon one of those rear of Tribunes, called Lucius Apuleius, summoned him before the assembly of the people, and accused him of having embezzled out of the pillage at Veii, certain brass gates

that were feen in his house.

Camillus, furprized at this new kind of accusation, affembled his friends, and the chief of his tribe, at his own house; and conjured them not to fuffer their general to be condemned upon fo weak a pretence *. These Plebeians, prepossessed by their Tribunes, after having taken counsel among themfelves, replied, that they would willingly pay the fine to which he should be condemned; but that it was not in their power to get him acquitted. Camillus detefting their weakness, resolved rather to banish himself from Rome of his own accord. than to have the shame of condemnation affixed to his name. He at his departure embraced his wife and children; and without being followed by any body of note, came to the gate of the city. It is related, that he then stopped, and turning towards Year of the capitol, prayed the Gods, that his ungrateful countrymen might quickly repent Rome, their having repayed his fervices with fo 362. fharp an outrage; and that their own calamities might oblige them to recal him +. He retired to Ardea, a city not far from Rome, where he heard that he was fined fifteen thousand affes,

^{*} Plut. in Cam. † Liv. I. 5. Plut. in vita Camilli. which

which may amount to about 150 crowns of our

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It was believed that the imprecations of this great man called down the anger of the Gods, and brought on the bloody war which the Gauls waged against the Romans. At least these two events followed each other so close, that the people, always superstitious, ascribed the loss of Rome to the banishment of Camillus.

The first irruption of the Gauls into Italy, happened in the reign of Tarquin the Ancient, about the year of the world, three thousand four hundred. and fixteen, and from the foundation of Rome the hundred and fixty fifth t. Ambigatus then reigned over the whole Celtic Gaul. This prince finding those great provinces too much crowded with inhabitants, fet two of his nephews, Sigovefus and Bellovefus, at the head of the flower of the youth, whom he obliged to look out for new fettlements abroad: either that it was the common custom which was still practifed in the North to the very tenth century; or that Ambigatus had recourse to these military colonies, to get rid of an active, restless, and turbulent number of youth: be this as it will, the chance of augury fent Sigovefus beyond the Rhine; where taking his way thro' the forest of Hircinia, he opened himself a passage by force of arms, and possessed himself of Bohemia, and the neighbouring provinces. Bellovefus turned to Italy, and after having passed the Alps; the Senones and the people of Mans, who were most numerous in his army, settled in those fine provinces that are between the mountains of the Alps, those of the Apennine, the river Tesin, and the river Jefi, which falls into the fea on this fide Ancona. There they established themselves, and to

[†] Val. Max. l. g. c. 3. Polyb. ‡ Liv. Diod. Sicul. Plut. Appian. in Celt.

them by fome authors is afcribed the origin and foundation of the cities of Milan, Verona, Pudua, Brescia, Como, and several other towns in that country, which fubfift at this day. The first war they had with the Romans, was about the year of the world 3616, two hundred years after their passage into Italy. They were then befieging Clusium, a city of Tufcany. The inhabitants, fearing to fall into the hands of these Barbarians, implored the affistance of the Romans, though they had no other reason to expect it, but that in the last war they did not take arms in favour of the Veientes, as most of the other nations of Hetruria had done. The Senate, who had no particular alliance with that city, only fent an embaffy of three young Patricians, all three brothers, and of the Fabian family, to propose an accommodation between the two nations. These ambassadors being arrived at Year of the camp of the Gauls, were conducted into the council. They offered the medi-Rome, ation of Rome, and demanded of Brennus, 362. the King or leader of these Transalpine Gauls, what pretenfions a ftrange people could have upon Tufcany; or whether they in particular had received injury from those of Clusium? Brennus anfwered proudly, that his right lay in his fword, and that all things belong'd to the brave and valiant; but that, without having recourfe to this primary law of Nature, he had a just complaint against the Clusians, who having much more lands than they could cultivate, had refused to give him those they left untilled: "They do us (added he) the same " wrong that you formerly receiv'd from the Sa-" bines, the Albans, the Fidenates, and that you now " daily fuffer from the Æqui, the Volsci, and all " your neighbours in general, whom fword in hand " you deprived of the best part of their territory: " therefore cease to interpose in behalf of the Clu-" fians, for fear your example should teach us to " defend

" defend those whom you have stripped of their " ancient inheritance."

The Fabii, enraged at fo haughty an answer, diffembled their refentment; and, under pretence of wanting to confer with the magistrates of Clusium, in quality of mediators, defir'd leave to go into the town. But they were no fooner there, than instead of acting according to their character, and performing the office of ministers of peace, these ambassadors, too young for an employment that requires the utmost prudence, suffering themselves to be carried away by their courage, and the fire of youth, flirred up the inhabitants to a vigorous defence. To fet them an example, they put themselves at their head in a fally, and Q. Fabius, the chief of the embaffy, flew with his own hand, one of the principal captains of the Gauls. Brennus, justly provok'd at fuch a proceeding, acted not like a barbarian; he fent a herald to Rome, to demand that those ambassadors, who had so manifestly violated the law of nations, should be deliver'd up to him; and in case of refusal, the same herald had orders to declare war against the Romans.

The herald being come to Rome, and having declared his message, the affair was put into deliberation. The wifest of the senate were for punishing those who had so manifestly violated the law of nations; or at least, for trying to appeale the Gauls with money. But the youngest of that body, urged on by their courage, rejected this advice, as unworthy of the Roman name. The affair was referred to the affembly of the people; and Fabius Ambustus, the father of the ambassadors, who, though a Patrician, had found means to render himself agreeable to the people, made fo firong an interest, that they not only fent back the herald without fatisfaction, but also chose his fons Military Tribunes, and leaders of the army which they refolved to fend against the Gauls.

Brennus,

Brennus, at the return of his herald, transferred his arms and his refentment from the Clusians to the Romans, and marched directly to Rome.

His army was numerous; all fled before him; the inhabitants of the towns and villages left their habitations at his approach; but he stopped no where, and declared his

defign was against none but the Romans.

The Military Tribunes marched out of Rome. at the head of forty thousand men. Their troops were not fewer in number than those of Brennus: but there was more order and obedience in the army of the Gauls. The Roman generals, fince the difference and banishment of Camillus, durst not act with full authority, but were forced to wink at the want of discipline, and the licentiousness of their foldiers, instead of commanding them with that absolute authority which is requisite in war-It was also observed, that these Tribunes, before they left Rome, did not facrifice to the gods, and neglected to confult the Auspices; essential ceremonies among a people full of superstition, and that drew their courage and confidence from the propitious figns which the Augurs gave them, But nothing did more prejudice to the Romans, than the number of their commanders. was in their army fix Military Tribunes, all with equal authority, most of them young, and men of more valour than capacity. They advanced boldly against the Gauls, whom they met near the river Allia, half a day's journey from Rome. Each nation immediately drew up its army. The Romans, that they might not be furrounded by the enemy, extended their wings, and placed their best foldiers on the right and left, which weakened the center. It was against this part that the Gauls bent their chief force; they foon pierced and broke the cohorts of which it confifted. The two wings finding themselves cut off from the army, and

and their centre possessed by the enemy, took to flight, without drawing their fwords. It was not fo much a battle, as a general rout; and in this diforder and affright, the foldiers, instead of returning to Rome, (which was but threefcore Stadia off) threw themselves into Veii. Others were drowned, as they endeavoured to fwim across the Tyber: many, purfued by the enemy, fell Year of beneath the fword of the conqueror. Rome Some few, who escaped their rage, got 363. to Rome, whither they carried terror and consternation *. The Senate thinking the whole army had been cut to pieces, and not having forces sufficient to defend the city, threw into the Capitol all the men that were fit to bear arms. They carried into it all the provisions they could get together; and that they might last the longer, admitted none into the place but who were capable of defending it. Most of the old men, women

and children, feeing themselves without governors, or any scheme to follow, hid themselves in the fields, and difperfed among the neighbouring towns. But the old fenators, rather than bear a load of mifery and feeble old age among strangers, resolved to bury themselves under the ruins of their country, and to end their days in a city which they could no longer defend. Several priefts joined with them, and generously devoted themselves to death, like those illustrious old men. This fort of felf-devotion was a point of religion; and the Romans believed, that the voluntary facrifice which their leaders made of their lives to the infernal gods, brought diforder and confusion among the enemy. These venerable men having put on, fome their facred habits, and fome their confular robes, and all the marks of their dignity, placed themselves at the doors of their houses, in chairs

[·] Liv. 1 5. Plut, in Camillo.

of ivory, where they expected the enemy and

death with the greatest constancy.

If, after the defeat at Allia, the Gauls had marched strait to Rome, the republic had been lost, and the Roman name extinguished *. But those Barbarians having fpent almost three days in sharing, their booty, the time they lingered away in this enjoyment of the fruits of their victory loft them the whole advantage they had gained by it. The Romans, during this delay, fent away their wives and children: the Senators, and all that were capable of bearing arms, retired into the Capitol, where they could not eafily be forced. Brennus entered Rome, and made himself master of it, about the year 363 from its foundation. The gates were open; the walls without defence, and the Loufes without inhabitants. This folitude in a very populous city, made them apprehensive of some ambush: but as he understood his trade, and was both a foldier and a captain, he immediately fecured his conquest by strong bodies of guards, which he fet in the public places and chief streets.

The first spectacle that offered itself to his fight. and most drew his attention, were those venerable old men, who (as we faid before) had devoted themselves to death, and who expected it at the doors of their houses. Their magnificent habits, their white beards, an air of greatness and constancy, the filence they kept; all this at first surprised the Gauls, and inspired them with the same respect as they would have had for fo many gods. durst not come near them; but one foldier, bolder than the rest, having out of curiosity touched the beard of one of the old fenators, that generous old man, not being used to such familiarity, gave him a blow on the head with his ivory flick. The foldier, in revenge, immediately killed him; and, at the same time, the other old men and the

[.] P.ut. in Camillo.

priefts were flaughtered like him in their chairs. All those inhabitants that had not been able to escape were put to the sword, without distinction of age or fex. Brennus then invested the Capitol, and fummoned those that had shut themselves up in it to furrender; but finding them immoveable, he endeavoured to scale the place. The Romans, who fought with great advantage, drove back his troops, and flew a great number of them. nus found he should never be able to take a place which nature had fo well fortified, otherwise than by famine: but, in order to be revenged of the Romans for their refistance, he refolved to destroy His foldiers, by his command, Rome entirely. fet fire to the houses, demolished the temples, and public edifices, and razed the walls. Thus, inftead of a city already famous throughout all Italy, nothing was to be feen but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waste, in which Brennus encamped that part of his army that invested the Capitol: the other part was fent out to forage.

These troops, who imagined they kept the whole country in subjection by the mere terror of their arms, preserved neither order nor discipline in their marches. The foldiers rambled difperfedly to plunder; and those that kept in a body, spent whole days in drinking: neither officer not foldier dreamed of any other enemies, but those who were blocked

up in the Capitol.

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Camillus, upon his exile, was retired to Ardea, as we faid before. This great man, more afflicted at the calamities of his country, than at his own banishment, undertook to revenge her upon those Barbarians. He eafily perfuaded the youth of the city to follow him; and, with the allowance of the magistrates, he marched out of Ardea in Year of a very dark night, and furprized the Gauls drowned in wine. He made a dreadful flaughter of them; and those that escaped 363.

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under shelter of the night, fell next day into the hands of the peasants, who gave them but small

quarter.

The news of this defeat was quickly spread all over Italy. The Romans that had taken refuge in Veii, and all that were dispersed about in the villages, affembled together. There was not one but condemned himself for the exile of Camillus, as if he had been the author of it; and looking upon that great man as their last resource after the destruction of Rome, they resolved to chuse him for their leader. "Why, faid they, must the Arde-" ates, who are strangers, cover themselves with " glory under the conduct of Camillus, while his " own fellow-citizens wander about like wretched " outlaws in the heart of their own country?" All will obey him; all will fight under his banners. They prefently fend him deputies, who befeech him to take into his protection the fugitive Romans, and the wreeks of the defeat at Allia.

Camillus at first excused himself from accepting any command, upon account of his being an exile.

"Rome is no more, (answered the deputies); and "we can now no longer reckon ourselves citizens

" of a city that is absolutely destroyed. You see before you the mournful remains of a state, that

" flourished for above three ages! one single bat-

" tle determined her fate, and ours; and there is

" no afylum left us, but in your camp."

Camillus still obedient to the laws, would not yet affent; but made them agree to send first to Rome, to know whether the Capitol still held out; and in that case, to take the orders of the senate which was there inclosed. The commission was difficult: the place was surrounded on every side by the enemies troops. Nevertheless a young Roman, called Pontius Cominius, undertook it, and through a thousand dangers arrived at the Capitol. The Senate was immediately assembled: this deputy gave them

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an account of Camillus's victory, and, on the part of all the Romans that were dispersed, demanded that great captain for their general. There was not much time spent in debates upon it: Year of the Senate and foldiers, who represented the people, with one voice declared him Rome, Pontius was immediately fent 363. Dictator. away again with the decree of his nomination; and that young man got back to the camp with the fame good fortune with which he had afcended to the Capitol.

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Camillus, from banishment, was raised to the highest dignity of his country. He was acknowledged Dictator, and Sovereign Magistrate of the Romans. In any other captain, this had been but a vain title: they gave him with this honour, neither troops, nor money to raife any. He made good all thefe defects by his courage, and that great reputation which he had fo justly gained. His new dignity was no fooner known, but soldiers flocked from all parts to his camp; and he quickly faw himself at the head of above forty thousand Romans, or allies, who all thought themselves invincible under fo great a general.

While he was arming, and taking measures to raise the blockade of the Capitol, some Gaulish soldiers having found in the mountain whereon that fort is fituated, the footsteps of Pontius's passage, made their report of it to Brennus; who immediately laid a defign to furprize that place the fame way. He chose out of his army such foldiers as had dwelt in mountaneous countries, and been accustomed from their youth to clamber precipices. These having received their orders, set out in the night, under cover of the dark, climbed up from rock to rock, and with much difficulty, and more danger, advanced by degrees, lending each other a hand, till they arrived at the foot of the wall, which VOL. II.

on that fide was built very low, because so craggy

a place feemed fafe from all attacks.

The centinel was afleen, and the Gauls began to Scale the rampart, when some geese consecrated to Juno, and which, out of a principle of Religion. were kept as facred birds, awaked at the noise the Gauls made, and fell to cackling. M. Manlius, a confular person, starts up at the noise, runs to the place, and appears first to defend the wall. Alone he faces the enemy; first cuts off the hand of a Gaul that had raifed it to strike him a blow with his battle-axe, and gives another fuch a shove with his buckler, that he rowls him from the top of the rock to the bottom. The whole garrifon immediately haftes to the same place. They push, they press upon the Gauls: Manlius, at the head of the Romans, tumbles them one over another; they have no place to fly, and most of them, to avoid the fword of the enemy, throw themselves into precipices, fo that very few regained their camp.

The first thing the besieged did, after having escaped so great a danger, was to precipitate from the top of the rock the centinel that had been found asleep; the next business was to reward M. Manlius, who by his courage and vigilance had saved the republic. Each soldier gave him half a pound of meal, and a little measure of wine, which they saved out of their own allowance: a reward remarkable only upon account of the scarcity of provisions that began to be in the place. Brennus, despairing to become master of the fort any other way than by samine, kept it so strictly invested, that for seven months that the siege had lasted, they had not been able to get in the least supply.

The fame scarcity was felt in the camp of the Gauls. Since the dictatorship had been given to Camillus, that skilful general, being perfect master of the country, possessed himself of all the passages. The Gauls durit not stir out to forage, for fear of

being

being cut to pieces; fo that Brennus, who befieged the Capitol, was befieged himfelf, and fuffered the fame inconveniences that he gave the befieged.

In this common mifery the centinels of the Capitol, and those of the enemy's army, began to talk to one another of an accommodation. These discourses came by degrees to the leaders, who were not averfe The Senate, who had heard nothing of Camillus, fince they had named him Dictator, and whofound themselves close pressed by famine, resolved to enter upon a negociation. Sulpitius, a Military Tribune, had the charge of it, and agreed with Brennus to give him a thousand pound weight of gold, provided he would raife the fiege, and depart immediately out of the dominions of the republic. The gold was brought; but when it came to be weighed, the Gauls made use of false weights. The Romans cried out against this unfair dealing; but Brennus, instead of redressing so plain an abuse, openly threw his fivord and belt into the scale that: was to weigh the gold: Sulpitius, enraged at for contemptuous an infult, asked him the meaning of this extraordinary behaviour: "What should it be, " (replied the Babarian infolently), but woe to the " conquered?"

During this contest, Camillus had advanced to the very gates of Rome with his army. Being informed they were entered upon a conference, he took with him his principal officers, and with a ftrong guard refolved to repair to the place of conference, to take care of his country's interest himfelf: or rather, which is more probable, to show the deputies of the befieged, that he was in a condition to bring them off, and to drive away their

besiegers.

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His army, by his command, followed him a flow pace, and the Gauls, who relied upon the faith of a treaty of peace, fuffered the first body of that army

to approach without opposition.

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As foon as ever Camillus appeared in the affembly, the deputies of the Senate opened to make room for him, as for the chief magistrate of the republic. After having given him an account of the treaty they had made with Brennus, they complained of the wrong that prince did him in the execution of it: " Carry back this gold into the Capitol, (fays " he to the deputies); and you Gauls, (added he) " retire with your scales and weights. It is with " fteel alone that the Romans will redeem their " country." Brennus surprized at this greatness of foul, which he had not found before in any Roman, represented to him that he contravened a treaty which was concluded. But Camillus replied, "That being Dictator, no body had authority to agree upon any thing without his privity." The dispute growing hot, they soon came to arms. Camillus, who had foreseen it, caused his troops to advance; the armies charged each other with fury. The Romans, notwithstanding the disadvantages of the place where they fought, drove the Gauls before them: Brennus rallies them; raifes the fiege, and encamps fome miles from Rome. Camillus follows him with the fame speed; attacks him again, and defeats him: most of the Gauls were slain upon the spot, or in the pursuit, by the inhabitants of the adjoining villages.

Thus Rome, which had been taken contrary to all likelihood, was recovered by the valour of an exile, who facrificed his refentment to the prefervation of his country. And as he faved it in war, and by the valour of his arms, he may be faid to have preferved it a fecond time in peace, after he

had driven away its enemies.

The city was destroyed, the houses demolished, and the walls razed, as we said before, and a man might have sought for Rome, in the middle of Rome itself. In a desolation so general, the Tribunes of the people renewed the old proposal of settling

fettling at Veii, and demanded that the Senate and people should remove thither, and make that the

feat of the empire.

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They represented in all the affemblies the extreme misery of the people, escaped as it were quite naked from shipwreck, exhausted by so many misfortunes, without strength, without money, and unable to rebuild a whole city, which had nothing left of it, but the ruins; while Veii offered the Romans a place fortisted by art and nature, stately buildings,

a wholesome air, and a fruitful territory.

The Senate, who had made it a point of their religion never to leave Rome, made no opposition to motives that seemed so reasonable, but by prayers, and soothing intreaties. The most illustrious of that body showed the people the tombs of their ancestors; others put them in mind of the temples that Romulus and Numa had consecrated; and forgot not the man's head that had formerly been dug up in making the foundation of the Capitol, and which according to the interpretation of the augurs signissed, that the empire of the world was decreed for that place, which should become the capital of all nations.

Camillus, who alone in this revolution had more authority and credit than the whole Senate, Year of asked some, why they had shut themselves Rome. up in the Capitol, and others, why they had fought in the open field with fo much bravery to recover Rome, if they were resolved to abandon it? " Confider (faid he,) that by retiring to Veii, " you will assume the name of a conquered peo-" ple, and lofe that of Romans, together with the " glorious destiny which the Gods have affixed to " it, and which, with your name, will go to the first " Barbarians that shall get possession of the Capitol, " and who, by this change, may perhaps in time be-" come your masters, and your tyrants." These motives, borrowed from religion and glory, touched a peo ple a people superstitious and haughty, who preferred the future hopes of empire to the present conveniencies of life; and a word spoken by chance, determined them compleatly. The Senate was assembled extraordinarily, to deliberate upon an assair of such importance. L. Lucretius was to give his opinion first. Just as that Senator was opening his mouth to speak his mind, the captain that mounted the Guard, was heard to call to the standard-bearer to stop there, and plant his ensign: "For," added the

officer, " here we must stay."

This voice, heard at the very time when every body was in pain what refolution to take, feemed to come from Heaven : "I accept the Omen," cried Lucretius, " and adore the Gods, that gave us fuch "fortunate advice." The whose Senate applauded his words. This news being fpread among the people, changed the disposition of every mind; and a chance word, by being turned into an omen, had more power than the wifest reasons the Senate could Veii was no longer mentioned; every man strove who should build fastest, without distinguishing his own ground from that of his neighbour. The republic gave a house, situate in the Capitol, to M. Manlius, as a monument of his valour, and of the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. But at the fame time that she rewarded so distinguished a service, Year of the thought herself obliged to punish Q. Fabius Ambustus, who had violated the Rome, law of nations, and thereby occasioned the 364. refentment and fury of the Gauls.

C. Martius Rutilus, Tribune of the people, summoned him before the assembly of the people, to answer for his conduct in his embassy. The Senate, who could not forgive him the extremity to which he had reduced the commonwealth, never concerned themselves in his defence; all his father's credit with the people could not save him. His

Plut. in vita Camik

relations gave out, that a fudden death had prevented the decision of this affair. This was what never failed to happen to those who had courage enough to free themselves from the shame and con-

demnation of public punishment.

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Mean while, those of the citizens that were still dispersed in the provinces, those that while the Gauls were masters of Rome had fettled at Veii, or in the neighbouring towns, the priefts, the women, the children, all returned to Rome +. Every one is looking out for a place of abode; they build on all fides; they were allowed to take stone where-ever they could find it. The state furnished tiles, and the work was carried on with fo much diligence, that in lefs than a year the city was quite rebuilt:

Rome feemed to rife up out of her ashes; but scarce did her inhabitants begin to take Year of breath, when new wars called them again Rome, into the field. The Tufcans, the Æqui, and the Volici, all near neighbours of Rome, and of course her enemies, made a League to oppress her before the had recovered her strength. The Latins, and Hernici, allies of the Roman people, but always jealous of her greatness, engaged in the defign, and furnished their contingent of troops. All flattered themselves that after so many loffes they thould find the city defencelefs. They threw themselves by consent, and on different sides, into its territory; and after having ravaged the country, they joined their troops, and marched strait to Rome. The Military Tribunes were fent out at the head of the Legions, to hinder the enemy from penetrating farther.

But those generals, without striking a blow, suffered themselves to be enclosed in straits and narrow passages. All they could do, was to gain the top of the mountain of Mars, where they intrenched themselves. Their camp was indeed secure from

all attacks on the part of the enemy, but then it was at the same time inaccessible to convoys: and the army was in danger of perishing by hunger.

In this extremity they had recourse to a general, always fuperior to dangers and difficulties. Camillus was a third time named Dictator t. Immediately he calls all the citizens to take arms, without excepting even the old men. His very name, and the report of his march, filled the enemy with terror; they now think no more of conquest; their whole study is how to avoid being conquered themfelves: they intrench themselves in their camp, which they fortify with a strong pallisade of stakes, and by felling great rows of trees, which they lay before it. Camillus approaches their camp; having taken notice of the disposition of it, he observed that every morning there arose a great wind, which blowed from the mountains. Upon this observation he fecretly laid the scheme of his enterprise; one part of his troops made a false attack on one side of the camp, while on the other, fome foldiers, instructed in their general's defign, threw against that inclosure of wood, burning arrows, and other cumbustible materials, which, with, the help of the wind that rose as usual, quickly burnt down the pallifade. The fire catches hold of the tents. The foldier frightened, runs precipitately out of the camp, without staying for the commands of his officer. All rush out in crouds and in confusion, and fall into the hands of the Romans, who make a terrible flaughter of them. Camillus then fent to extinguish the flames, in order to fave the booty, with which he rewarded his army.

The same good fortune attended him against the Æqui and the Tuscans. He made war upon them almost four years, sometimes in quality of Dictator, and sometimes of Military Tribune, and in all his wars he

[†] Plut. in Camillo.

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had the fame fuccess, and constantly came off victorious.

But without dwelling upon this feries of glorious actions, which are not to my purpose; I shall only observe, that it was no less to his wisdom than his valour, that he owed the title with which his fellow-citizens honoured him, of restorer of his

country, and fecond founder of Rome.

Among all the Romans, there was none but Marcus Manlius, a confular person, that dissented from this general esteem *. He was indeed one of the bravest soldiers that Rome rear of ever produced, but his ambition and vanity were yet greater than his valour. He 367. could not bear to see Camillus preferred before him in the command of the armies.

"If I had not faved the fort and Capitol," faid he, "was it possible for Camillus to have recover-"ed Rome? And does not every body know that "when he drove out the Gauls, he surprised them "in a conference, and at the very time when they

" relied upon the faith of a folemn treaty?"

By fuch speeches he gave vent to his envy, and tried to blacken the glory of a man, whom he looked upon as his rival. The ambition, which preyed upon him, being joined to an exceffive vanity, he took the fame way that those who affect the tyranny are used to follow. He set himself to flatter the people as much as any Tribune could have done; and not fatisfied with renewing the dangerous proposals for the division of the lands, the ground or pretence of all feditions, he endeavoured to raife new ones, under colour of an intention to ease the people, and give them means of difcharging the debts which most of the Plebeians had contracted to rebuild their houses. He paid for fome, and pledged his credit for others. He fold his land to discharge their debts; and declared,

that, fo long as he had a penny left, he would never fuffer his fellow citizens to be laid in irons. Sometimes he tore them out of the hands of their creditors, and hindered them by force from carrying them to prifon. By this violent and feditious behaviour, he had foon got himfelf a kind of guard, made up of the people he had fo affifted, most of whom had consumed their substance in debauchery; these never left him, and raised a continual tumult in the Forum.

He represented to them, sometimes in public, and sometimes in private, That the nobles, not satisfied with being the sole possessor of the lands that ought to be equally shared among all the citizens, had also taken for their own use the gold allotted for the payment of the Gauls, which was raised by the voluntary contribution of all that had been shut up in the Capitol. He added, that the same Patricians had farther enriched themselves with the booty found in the camp of Brenzus, which alone had been sufficient to pay all the peoples debts.

This discourse repeated upon different occasions, and artfully fowed about by his engines, raifed the multitude. All other pretentions ceased; fo great a prospect as every man's having his debts discharged, left them no room to think of any thing but to draw these riches out of the hands of the Patricians; the fedition increased from day to day, and its author made it the more formidable. The Senate, in this diforder, refolved to apply to the usual remedy, and create a Dictator. They made use of the pretence of a new war with the Volsci: but Year of no body was ignorant, that that magistrate would have more dangerous ene-Rome mies to deal with in the city than abroad. 369. This dignity fell to A. Cornelius Coffus, who named Quintius Capitolinus to be general of

the horse *.

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The Volsci were descated; but the sedition grew greater every day. The Dictator was obliged to return to Rome. After having agreed with the Senate upon the course he should steer he came to the Forum, accompanied by the Senate, and a great number of Patricians; he mounted his tribunal, from whence he sent a Lictor to cite Manlius to appear before him.

Manlius finding himself summoned before the chief magistrate of the republic, made all his adherents follow him to the Forum, and approached the Dictator's tribunal with so numerous a guard, that he was able to strike more terror into his judges, than he was likely to feel from their authority. The Senate and people were separated into two different parties, ready to come to blows, with

each their leader at their head.

Then the Dictator having caused silence to be proclaimed, addressed himself to Manlius: "I know," says he, "that you accuse the chief of the Senate of having misapplied the gold which was raised for the Gauls, and the booty taken in their camp, and that you at the same time give the people hopes that this one fund would be sufficient to acquit all their debts. I command you to name this minute the men you charge with having misapplied this part of the public treasure; otherwise, to prevent your seducing the people any longer with lies and vain hopes, I ordain, That you be immediately carried to prison, as an incendiary and a slanderer *."

Manlius, furprised at the stern and imperious manner in which the Dictator examined him, without entering into any proofs of a fact of such importance, replied. That he asked him a question, which he could resolve as well as himself; and added, "But is not that which angers you, A. Cor-

^{*} Liv. 1. 6. Plut. in Camillo. Diod. Sic.

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" nelius, and all the Senators and Patricians in this " affembly, the crowd of people wherewith I am " furrounded? Why do you not rob me of this 'affection, which makes you fo jealous? or at ' leaft, why do you not endeavour to share it with " me? Relieve the poor citizens that groan beneath "the weight of the usury that finks them; " hinder them from being cast into chains. Take " upon you the protection of those generous Ple-" beians, that, by my example, preferved the Ca-" pitol: defend those, that with the price of their " blood recovered the very fpot where now ftands " your tribunal. and the feat of your empire. Pay " for fome; answer for others; and you will see " the multitude follow you, and give you all " the proofs they are able of their gratitude and " love."

The Dictator replied, That this should not missed him from his question: that he commanded him to speak without so many doublings, and to name directly those whom he accused of having embezzled the gold and spoils of the Gauls; or else to acknowledge before all the people, that he was no better than a calumniator. Manlius, perplexed and consounded, told him, He did not intend to give his enemies so much satisfaction.

Upon this, the Dictator commanded him to be led to prison. The Lictors had no sooner laid hold of him, but Manlius, to stir up the people, invoked all the gods that were revered in the Capitol, and at Rome: and turning to the multitude, "Can you bear, O generous Romans, (cried he), to see your defender treated so unworthily, by

" enemies jealous of his glory?"

Notwithstanding his cries, the Dictator's order was executed: he was carried to prison, and no body stirred to rescue him. His numerous adherents contented themselves with showing their forrow by habits of mourning, which were never worn

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but in the greatest calamities. Nay, there were fome that would not cut either their beard or hair. The Dictator laid down his dignity, after having had a triumph for the victory he had gained over The people expressed nothing but a the Volici. deep dejection on that day of joy; and they were heard to fay, That the chief ornament of this stately triumph was wanting; and that they wondered they did not fee in it Manlius laden with chains, and bound to the Dictator's chariot. There were even fome that, to move the multitude, put them in mind, that Manlius had been fo brave, as alone to defend the whole people against the Gauls; but that among fo great a people, not a fingle man undertook to defend Manlius against the Senate: that it was a fhame to fee a confular treated with fo much indignity: and that they ought to break the chains of the defender of the public liberty. The Senate fearing left the people, in their fury, should force open the prisons, and that Manlius being set free by fuch violent means, might carry his audacity further than ever, thought they should stifle this affair, if they abated a little of their authority: but instead of laying the sedition, they, by this timorous behaviour, gave a chief to the mutineers, and a chief too, enraged by the shame of his imprisonment, and incapable of hearkning to counfels of moderation.

And indeed, he was no fooner out of prison, than instead of growing the better for his disgrace, he again stirred up the people to revive their ancient pretensions. He spake of nothing in private assemblies, but the justice of dividing the public lands, and the necessity of establishing an exact equality among all the citizens of one and the same republic. "But you will never bring so noble an "enterprize to bear, added he, (addressing himfelf to his most devoted creatures), so long as "you oppose the pride and avarice of the Patri-Vol. II.

" cians only with complaints, murmurs, and emp-" ty discourses. It is time to shake off their tyran-" ny; to abolish the Dictatorships and Consulates.

"Make yourselves a head, that may govern the Patricians as well as the people. If you judge " me worthy of that honour, the more power you

" give me, the fooner you will be in possession of " the things you have so long wished for. I defire " authority with no view, but to make you all

" rich and happy."

It is faid, that by this feditious discourse he meant to instil into his creatures the design of reftoring the royalty in his person. But it is not known what instruments he intended to make use of in fo difficult an undertaking, nor how far he carried his ambitious project. What is most certain, is, that he held private affemblies in his house on the Capitol, to which he called neither A. Manlins, nor T Manlius, his brothers, nor any of his relations; but that, on the contrary, no body was feen at them but people ruined with debts, or fcandalous for their debauchery.

The Senate, alarmed at these cabals, made a decree, and a Senatusconfultum, whereby the Military Tribunes, who represented the Confuls, were ordered " to be particularly watchful, that the Re-" public received no damage;" a form which was never used but in the greatest dangers of the state, and which invested those magistrates with an authority little different from that of the Dictator. After this, different means were proposed for breaking the evil defigns of Manlius. Some Benators cried out, That the republic, upon this occasion, stood in need of another Servilius Ahala, who by one bold stroke and the death of a bad citizen, restored peace and tranquillity.

But M. Menius, and Q. Petillius, though both Tribunes of the people, offered themselves to the Senate, and opened to them a scheme more secure

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and agreeable to the moderation of that body. Those two magistrates, foreseeing that the loss of their dignities would foon follow that of the public liberty, represented, That in the present dispofitions of mens minds, they could not attack Manlius with open force, without engaging the people in his defence: that ways of violence were always dangerous, and might raife a civil war: that their first business was to separate the interests of the people from those of Manlius; that they themselves would undertake to be his accusers, as of a man that affected the tyranny: that the people, from being the protectors of Manlius, would become his judge, and an inexorable judge, when they found an attempt and conspiracy was formed against their liberty; that the person accused was a Patrician, and Tribunes would be his accusers. The Senate embraced this advice; Manlius was cited; and as the crime alledged against him was capital, he appeared before his judges cloathed in mourning. But he came arous; some of his relations would accompany him, nor concern themselves for his difgrace: fo much did the love of liberty, and the fear of being inflaved, prevail in the heart of the Romans, over all the ties of blood and nature.

His accusers charged him with his feditious difcourfes; the alterations he proposed to make in the government; his ill-meant liberalities to ftir up the multitude, and the false accusation with which he had offended the whole body of the Senate. Manlius, without entering into a discussion of these leveral articles, gave for answer a relation of his fervices and the testimonies he had received of them from his generals. He produced bracelets, javelins, two crowns of gold, for having entered the first into the cities of the enemy by breach; eight civic crowns, for having faved the lives of fo many citizens in battle; and thirty spoils of enemies, whom he had flain with his own hand in D 2 fingle

fingle combat. He, at the fame time, opened his bosom, and thewed it all covered with scars, left by the wounds he had received in fight. Lastly, he called upon Jupiter, and the other gods, for succour; and turning to the assembly, he conjured the people to cast their eyes upon the Capitol, before they condemned him.

The people, touched with compassion by so moving a spectacle, could not resolve to inflict the utmost rigour of the laws upon a man that had faved the republic. The fight of the Capitol, where he had fought fo valiantly against the Gauls, weakened the accufation, and drew the pity of the multitude. The Tribunes found, that unless they removed the people out of the fight of that castle, the criminal would always have an afylum against the strongest proofs of his guilt. Thus, for fear he should escape them, they deferred the decision of this affair to another day, and appointed the place of the affembly to be without the gate Flumentana. Then the object that had faved him no loaner dazzling the Year of eyes of his judges, Maulius was condemned to be thrown from the top of the Capitol Rome, itself: and the theatre of his glory became 370. that of his punishment and fname. None of his family ever afterwards bore the name of Marcus; his house where he had held his private cabals, was razed to the ground; and it was decreed, that no Patrician should afterwards dwell in the Capitol, left the advantageous fituation of a fortrefs that commanded the whole city, should fuggest and facilitate the design of enslaving it.

The people, who pity indifferently all the unfortunate, without diffinguishing the guilty from the innocent, were not long before they regretted Manlius. They had foon forgot his ambition; they remembered only his courage and valour; and efpecially the adherence he had shown to their interests. Those that had received benefits from him.

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upbraided the multitude that their favourites never lafted long, and that they had always bafely yielded them up to the cruelty of the Senate: that that chief order could not endure virtues too confpicuous: that Sp. Caffius, another Confular, who had called them to the partition of lands; that Melius, who in a famine had affifted them to generoufly, had perished miserably by the jealousy of the great; and that by the same artifice they had just now destroyed Manlius, who died only because that noble citizen would have freed them from the intolerable usury with which they were oppressed. The plague that happened a little while afterwards, did not fail to be ascribed by the meaner fort to their punishment of that Confular. They faid that Jupiter, the re- 371. venger of fuch illustrious blood, was incenfed at their having so unjustly put to death the defender of his Temple.

New wars that were successively kindled against the Volsei, the Circai, and the Prænestini, which lasted almost six years, stissed those popular notions. Peace bred new diffentions; as if it had been the sate of Rome never to preserve tranquillity at home

and abroad at the same time.

A great number of Plebeians had diftinguished themselves in these wars, and acquired wealth in them besides, which gave them further credit. These Plebeians, whose minds were exalted, thought it not above them to aspire to the consulate, and the command of armies. To attain these honours, they infinuated in all the assemblies, that they should never see concord perfectly restored in the commonwealth, so long as the dignities were reserved to the Patricians only: that equality was the most solid foundation of union; and that Plebeians ought to be admitted into the consulate indifferently with Patricians: that the hope of arriving at all the honours of the republic, would raise a noble emulation

lation between the two orders of the state; and that no Plebeian would then value his life, when dignities, honours, nobility and glory were common

among all the citizens.

The poorer fort, wholly concerned for the neceffaries of life, scemed very little moved with these magnificent pretensions. The Patricians, on the other hand, long opposed them with great conrage and firmness. This was for several years a continual subject of dispute between the Senate, and the Tribunes of the people. At length the tears of a woman produced what the eloquence, credit, and cabals of the Tribunes had not been able to obtain. So true it is, that this artful sex is never stronger than when it makes use of its own weakness to effect its designs. This will appear in the story we are going to relate.

M. Fabius Ambustus, besides his three sons, whom we spoke of upon-occasion of the war of the Gauls, had two daughters *; of which the eldeft Year of was married to Scr. Sulpitins, a Patrician by birth, and then Military Tribune; and Rome, the youngest had espoused a rich Plebeian, 377. named C. Licinius Stolo. One day, when that Plebeian's wife was at her fafter's house, the Lictor that went before Sulpitius, at his return from the Senate, knocked roughly at the door with the staff of the Fasces, to give notice that the magistrate was coming in. This extraordinary noise frightened the wife of Licinius; her fifter took no notice of her concern, but by a malicious smile that seemed to hint at the inequality of their conditions. vanity, stung to the quick by so mortifying a distinction, threw her into a deep melancholy. Her father and husband often asked her the occasion of it; but without getting any fatisfactory answer, She affected to bury the cause of it in an obstinate

filence. Those two Romans, who were extremely fond of her, redouble their entreaties, and omitted no means to draw this secret from her. At length, after as much resistance as she thought necessary to increase their curiosity, she pretended to yield to their defires; and confessed with tears in her eyes, and with a fort of confusion, that she should certainly die of grief, if being of the same blood with her sister, her husband could not attain the same

dignities as her brother-in-law.

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Fabius and Licinius, to comfort her, gave her a folemn promise, that they would spare no painsto procure for their family the fame honours she had feen in that of her fifter; and without lofing time in making interest for the Military Tribunate, they boldly aimed at once at the very Confulship. Her father, though a Patrician, joined with his fonin-law; and either out of complaifance to his daughter, or refenement of the death of his fon, whom the Senate had deferted, entered into meafures opposite to the interest of his order. Licinius and he affociated into their defign L. Sextius, of a Plebeian family, equally excemed for his valour and his eloquence, an intrepid defender of the privileges of the people; and who, as the Patricians themfelves confessed, wanted nothing but a more illuftrious birth to capacitate him for the highest offices of the republic.

C. Licinius and L. Sextius agreed to get the Plebeian Tribunate first, as a kind of step to the Supreme Magistracy: this they easily obtained. Scarce had they compassed this first point, but they resolved to use their utmost endeavours to make the Consulship common to both Orders of the republic. To effect this design, and to prevent the Senate from getting both the places of the Consulate by their credit, they formed the draught of a law, which decreed that one of those two places should

always be filled with a Plebeian.

The business was to bring the whole body of the people into this project; which was no easy matter, the multitude being much fonder of the division of the lands, or the abolition of the debts, than of the Consular dignity, which could never affect any but the most powerful of their Order. Thus the two Tribunes agreed to tack those proposals together, and to carry the law relating to the Consulate, by means of that of the partition of the lands: they added a third, full as advantageous to the multitude, for the restraining of usury. It was proposed to deduct from the capital debt, whatever had been paid for excessive interest, and the principal was to be discharged in three years, and by three equal payments.

The second law related to the partition of the conquered lands, the perpetual subject of contest between the Senate and people. But as the Tribunes foresaw that the whole body of Particians, and indeed those rich Plebeians too, that had long been in possession of such lands, would jointly stand up against his proposal, and that their opposition might hinder the passing of the law concerning the consulate, they resolved to content themselves with demanding, that at least it should be unlawful for the future to possess above sive hundred acres of them; and that those who were found to have more than that, should be deprived of them; to be distributed among those who enjoy no inheritance in

land.

Lastly, by the third law, the main purpose of the Tribunes, it was decreed, that Military Tribunes should not be chosen any more; that the consulate should be restored, with all its prerogatives; and that one of the consuls should always be taken out of the body of the Plebeians.

The two Tribunes proposed these laws in the first assembly. Never did division, cabals, and intrigues run higher. It was attacking both the Se-

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nate and nobility in all that raises the most violent defires in man, riches and honour. The whole body of Patricians declared loudly against these propofals: the people, on their fide, backed their Tribunes with equal warmth; nay, there were deferters in both parties. The rich Plebeian, whose acquifitions had made the interest of his order contrary to his own, feared he should be stripped of part of his wealth; and the noble and Patrician that were poffeffed of no more land than what was allowed by the law, stood up for it, in order to make themfelves agreeable to the people, and by that means to attain the chief dignities of the republic. city was full of tumult; discord reigned in all parts of it; even families were divided among themselves; every one chose his party, according to his private views and interests; and Rome was in that agitation, which is the usual forerunner of seditions and civil wars.

The affembly broke up without coming to any refolution. The two Tribunes, who were the heads of their party, spent the interval betwixt that and the next affembly in caballing, and fecuring the votes of the multitude. The Senate, on their parts, held feveral councils both in public and private. At length they had recourse to an expedient, which had already been of very great fervice to them: they gained over some of the Tribunes of the people. These being displeased that Licinius and Sextius should assume the whole authority of their college to themselves, gave the Senate private assurances of their opposition. Licinius and Sextius, who knew nothing of this fecret combination, affembled the people, in full confidence that nothing could prevent the reception of their laws: they ordered them to be read, and at the fame time invited all the tribes to give their voices But the Tribunes, who were won over by the Senate, immediately rose and declared that they opposed it.

The

The opposition of one single Tribune was, as we have said before, an invincible obstacle to any proposal; and all they had occasion to say, to hinder the success of any affair, was this one Latin word, VETO, I forbid it: a term so powerful in the mouth of those Plebeian magistrates, that without the least reason given for this opposition, it was equally sufficient to break the resolutions of the Senate, and the proposals of the other Tribunes.

nate, and the proposals of the other Tribunes. Thus the laws were rejected, and the Senare triumph'd. But Sextius, though furpriz'd at the treachery of his colleagues, abated nothing of his boldness: but taking his resolution in a moment, "The " Gods forbid (faid he) that I should violate the " noblest privilege of the people, though their ma-" giftrates make use of it now against their interest. " But fince this opposition has so much power, we, " in our turn, shall make use of the same weapon." Then addressing himself to the Senate and Patricians: "You may call as many affemblies as you " please, gentlemen (added he) to elect Military Tribunes; you will find that this word VETO, " which is now fo agreeable to you in the mouth " of my colleagues, will not please you so well in 44 mine."

These were no empty threats; for the time being come for the election of new Military Tribunes, Licinius and Sextius stiffly opposed the proceeding to any election at all of them; though at the same time they managed it so well, as to continue themselves in the Plebeian Tribuneship. They renew'd the same opposition for the five succeeding years; so that the republic being without a head, fell, thro' the obstinacy of both parties, into a kind of anarchy; which was interrupted only by the creation of some inter-kings, who were elected at times to try to bring matters to a reconciliation.

Meantime, a foreign war, which feemed to be a less misfortune than these domestic broils, came,

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as it were, to the affistance of the Senate. The inhabitants of Velitræ made incursions into the lands of the republic, and afterwards befieged Tufculum, a city in league with the Roman people. As they could not avoid taking arms to repel this infult. the two Tribunes of the people were constrained to wave their opposition; and they proceeded to the election of Military Tribunes to lead their army into the field.

The enemies were beaten, and the fiege of Tufculum raifed. Velitræ was afterwards besieged: but that place not being taken by those that begun the fiege, they were obliged to create new Military Tribunes. Licinius and Sextius not being able to hinder it, found means to get Fabius Ambustus, the father-in-law of Licinius, to be chosen for one

of those magistrates.

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These two men, artful, enterprizing, and supported by a Military Tribune, reigned imperiously in all the affemblies: they represented to the people, that in a republic, the great dignities should be the reward of merit equally in all, without distinction of birth or riches. And Sextius, who was naturally eloquent, turning to the Senate, and apostrophising the Patricians, asked them sternly, Whether they could not subsist upon five hundred acres of land, when their ancestors had but two acres allotted them for each master of a family, and most of the people had no more then? " But " (adds he) it is this unequal partition among the " citizens of the fame republic, which is the cause " that the people groans under the weight of ufu-" ry; and that we daily fee men free-born lying in " chains, and dragged to jail, like fo many flaves. " And we must not flatter ourselves, (added he), " that the rich will fet any bounds to their avarice, " or that the Patricians will abate any thing of " that tyrannical dominion which they exercise " over our goods and persons, till the people have

" fo much courage as to chuse a Consul out of their own body, who may be the mediator of

" their necessities, and the protector of their li-

" berty."

At the fame time that Sextius, by these and the like discourses, was fomenting the animosity of the Plebeians against the Senate, his friends and adherents gained over his colleagues, who at length ceased their opposition. Sextius having got clear of this obstacle, convened the affembly of the people. The Senate, alarmed at this change in the Tribunes, who broke their word with them, had recourse, as in the greatest dangers of the republic, to a Dictator; and all the Senators, with an unanimous voice, bestowed that dignity upon Camillus. This was the fourth time he had been in-Year of vested with it; he now accepted of it not Rome, without fome unwillingness. Being in-384. different between the nobility and the people, and folely attached to the whole body of the republic, he had been glad to have avoided fiding with either party; but the contest was too furious, and the Tribunes too obstinate and hot to be prevailed upon by moderate counfels. The two Tribunes, fecure of their colleagues, who had removed their opposition, thought there was nothing now left to hinder the passing of their laws, when the Dictator, to gain time, published an order for the Roman people to appear in the field of Mars, to follow him to war.

This command of a magistrate, who had power of life and death over his fellow-citizens, caused a great deal of uneasiness among the people. The Tribunes, to give them courage, had the boldness to threaten the Dictator, that they would condemn him to a fine of fifty thousand drachmæ, unless he revoked his edict. But during these disputes the time elapsed; night came on, and those of the people, who, in spite of the Dictator's edict, were

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come to the affembly with the Tribunes, were obiged to depart without agreeing upon any thing; which was the Dictator's chief aim. He afterwards aid down his dignity; either because, con- Year of idering his great age, and perhaps still remembering his exile, he did not care to venture himself again in an affair of so 385. much heat; or, which Livy thinks the more probable *, because he was privately informed, that there was some defect in the form of taking the Auspices at his creation of Dictator. We have already heard to what a point of superstition the Romans, who were then no less ignorant and unpolith'd than they were brave, had carried thefe icrupulous observations. If the Augur, in the preparatory prayers, mistook one fingle word for another; if the veil which covered his head chanced to fall; or if he himself did not rife or fit down again in his feat exactly at the times and circumstances appointed; the omission of the least of these formalities, which might eafily happen in an infinité number of other ceremonies, was sufficient to make void all the deliberations or elections that were performed in consequence of this act of religion; and a man that was capable of despising the Augurs, was looked upon as profane and impious. It is not furprifing, therefore, that a magistrate so pious as Camillus should be unwilling to retain any longer a dignity conferred upon him contrary to the laws and prejudices of his religion. And what would make one believe that he did not abdicate it out of fear of the Tribunes of the people, is, that foon afterwards he accepted it again, when the affair of the confulate was not yet determined. Mean time, as the Senate, in so nice a conjuncture, knew not how to act without a Dictator, whose authority might be a curb upon the cabals and intrigues of the Tribunes, they conferred that great dignity on P. Manlius; who,

^{*} Liv. l. 6. Dec. 1.

till then, had always feemed a firm adherent to the interests of his order and society. But the choice this magistrate made of a Plebeian, named C. Licinius, for general of his horfe, showed his fecret in clination for the party of the people; though he endeavoured to justify fo extraordinary a nomination, which, as yet, was without example, upon account of the dignity of Military Tribune, which this C. Licinius had before enjoyed; wherein we are to diffinguish him from C. Licinius Stolo, who was only Tribune of the people. The Dictator, to excuse himself for making this choice, alledged some remote alliance between his family and that of Licinius. Which shows how rarely mutual fidelity is preferved in the confusions of the state, because of the fecret ties that there are among the citizens of the fame city, though of opposite parties. apprehending nothing either from the Dictator or general of the horfe, was now in hopes of bringing all his defigns to a happy conclusion: he employed his eloquence in all the affemblies, to inspire the people with his ambition. But the multitude, who earnestly wished for the partition of lands, and fome relief in their debts, feemed but very indifferent as to the Confulate. This generous people had a veneration for the blood of the Patricians, as the glorious fource of fo many generals who had led them to battle and conquest.

The two Tribunes, alarmed at this coldness, seigned that they would meddle no longer with any public affairs: they even jointly refused to concur in the election that was to be made of new Tribunes for the following year. Sextius represented in all the assemblies, That his colleague and he had grown old in that office to no purpose: that it was now nine years since they had combated with the Senate for the good of the people, who were now ready to abandon them: that the Plebeians would indeed very gladly come into the partition of lands,

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and were no less eager to be freed of their debts; but when the honour of their magistrates was to be promoted, and the reward of their services to be paid, nothing was to be met with but coldness and indifference. And now Sextius, slinging off the mask: "Know (says he to the people) that our pro"posals are inseparable. You must resolve to pass "them conjointly; and if we do not obtain the "Consulate by your means, you shall have neither "conquered lands nor diminution of your debts; "and I declare, that my colleague and I will re"nounce an office which brings us nothing but "ingratitude "."

All the Senators and Patricians in the affembly could not enough wonder at the impudence with which this audacious Tribune made so open a confession of his ambitious aims. Appius rear of Claudius, the grandson of the Decemvir, rising up, and addressing himself to the multitude: "At least (says he) you can 385.

"now no longer doubt that your Tribunes have "ftirred up all these seditions for nothing but their own interest. You hear these new Tarquins "threaten you without fear of punishment, that neither you shall have lands, nor the republic "magistrates, unless the Consulship be yielded to "them."

The people were very fensible of the pride and contempt they showed in this alternative; but the business was gone two far; the multitude, being afraid of losing their defenders, solemnly engaged themselves to follow their directions implicitly. It was only upon this condition, that those two magistrates condescended to hold their Tribuneship: and the most ambitious of men were so artful as to make a new merit of the continuation of their empire and dominion.

[†] Liv. 1. 6.

The Senate and nobility were confounded at the boldness of two men that had got the secret of perpetuating themselves in two offices, annual by their institution, but which they were making hereditary in their families. The Senators upbraided each other with their weakness, and could not, without indignation, think with what a decrease of authority they should leave to their children the dignity they had received from their fathers. The whole city was in motion, and its inhabitants just upon the point of taking arms against each other, when they were obliged to turn them against a cloud of Gauls, who from the shore of the Adriatic sea were advancing towards Rome, to revenge the de.

feat of their countrymen.

Enemies fo formidable suspended the divisions that tore the commonwealth. It was now no longer time to dispute about the superiority either of capacity or valour between the Patricians and Plebeians. A common danger, the furest test of true merit, united their votes; and the Tribunes of the Year of people demanded Camillus for their Dictator, with as much eagerness as the Senate. Rome. This was the fifth time that he was raifed 386. to this supreme post. Victory under so great a captain was neither difficult nor doubtful: the Gauls were defeated; a great number fell in the field of battle; and the rest being scattered by flight, and unable to rally, were knocked on the head by The end of this war was the beginthe peafants. ning of new troubles at home, and the old divisions broke out a-fresh. Licinius and Sextius, those perpetual Tribunes, refolved to carry the Confulate at any rate. For this purpose, they convened the affembly of the people, and without ftaying to harangue them as usual, ordered the votes to be ga-The Dictator, who came into the Forum, followed by the whole Senate, would have opposed it; but the Tribunes, who now respected neither the

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the laws, nor the chief dignity of the republic, fent a Lictor to feize Camillus, and carry him to prifon *. This attempt upon the fovereign magistrate, made the whole nobility rife at once; Rome never faw fo great a tumult: the Patricians drive back the Lictor, and the Plebeians at the same time prepare to back him: the two parties draw up on each fide of the place, just ready to come to blows. In this diforder, the Dictator fent word to the Tribunes to restrain their animosity for a moment: he then calls to him all the Senators, and carries them into a neighbouring temple, in order to come to fome final resolution. But before he entered, he turned towards the Capitol, and addressing himself to the Gods, he made a vow to build a temple to Concord, if he could restore union among his fellow-citizens +.

There were sharp contests between the Senators, what they had best to do; but at last the danger pressing hard upon them, and the people in their fury threatening to leave Rome, the more moderate course, and that which was most comformable to the present state of things, was resolved on by plurality of voices; and they at length confented to grant the people one of the places in the confulship: Sextius was the first of the Plebeians that enjoyed it, and Licinius fucceeded him shortly afterwards. The Patricians on their fide, by the interposition of the Dictator, obtained two new dignities peculiar to themselves, exclusive of the people, as it were to make them amends for what they had loft. first was the Prætorship established for the dispenfing of justice in the city: a function originally part of the Confulate; but which the Confuls could not always execute, especially in the summer, which they usually spent at the head of the armies. Thus the prætorship was looked upon as a supplement to the Confulate, and the fecond dignity in the com-

Plot in Cam. + Ovid. Fast. I. z. Plut. in Cam.
E 3 monwealth.

monwealth ‡. Sp. Furius, the Dictator's fon, was the first Prætor of Rome; and as such was allowed the Toga Prætexta, or robe edged with purple, the Curule chair, and six Lictors bearing safees before him: wherein the Prætor was distinguished from the Consul, who had twelve. And as the Dictator had the general of the horse for his Vicegerent, and the Consuls their Lieutenants; the Prætor had the Quæstors particularly under his direction, and they eased him of part of his business.

The second office that was created in favour of the Patricians, was the Major Ædility, so called, to distinguish it from the Plebeian Ædility, established at the same time as the Tribunes of the people, whose Lieutenants they were looked upon to be. This office was also called the Curule Ædility, because those who possessed it, were, like the Confuls and Prætors, allowed to be carried in a kind of throne adorned with ivory, which they called the

Curule chair.

The two first Patrician Ædiles were Cn. Quintins Capitolinus, and P. Cornelius Scipio *. The functions of these Ædiles were answerable to those of our Mayors, Lieutenants de Police, and Treasurers of France, all at the same time. They had the care of the temples, theatres, games, public places, markets, tribunals of justice, and the repair of the walls of the city. It was also their business to take care that no novelty was introduced in religion. They had the same inspection over the books that were published, and the pieces that were written for the stage. This post, always filled by two Patricians, was a step to the prætorship and consulate.

At length, after the establishment of the Confuls, Prætors, and Curule Ædiles, the law relating to the public lands was passed, as the only means to appeare the multitude, and to settle peace in the

State.

Suidas. Liv. l. 7. Plut. in Camillo.

This law, named Licinia, from C. Licinius Stolo, its author, ordained, That no citizen should, upon any pretence whatsoever, be for the future possessed of above sive hundred acres of the conquered lands; and that the rest should either be distributed gratis, or farmed out at low rents, among the poor citizens.

That in this partition, at least seven acres should

be affigned to each citizen.

That none should be suffered to have upon his estate above such a number of servants or slaves,

to improve it.

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That the number of cattle should also be limited proportionably to the quantity of land that each man possessed; and that the richest should not breed nor send into the commons and public passures above a hundred black cattle, and sive hundred sheep.

That three Commissioners should immediately be named to take care of the execution of the law; and that the author who prepared it should not be

of these Triumvirs.

Lastly, That the Senate, the knights, and the people, should take a solemn oath to observe this law; and that whoever should break it hereaster, should be fined ten thousand asses, or ten thousand

Roman pence.

The law was at first observed with great exactness, as new regulations generally are. The very
author of the law, C. Licinius Stolo, was the first
Roman fined for violation of it. He was convicted
of possessing above a thousand acres of land: and
though, to escape the rigour of the law, he had before shared them with his son, whom he had made
free for that very purpose, this emancipation was
looked upon as nothing but an evasion of the law.
Half his lands were taken from him, and divided
among poor citizens*; he paid besides a fine of ten

* Liv. 1. 7.

thousand

thousand pence +; and learned by his own experience, that in a free government the people will not bear to fee the magistrates excuse themselves from the observation of the laws which they prescribe to private men. But as there are no penalties fo fevere, which the avarice of men will not evade, the richest and most powerful among the Romans afterwards found a way to get the commons and conquered lands adjudged to themselves under borrowed names. The wars that fell out with the Latins, the Samnites, the Gauls, and the Carthaginians, favoured these usurpations; the laws were less heard amidst the tumult of arms; the Magiftrates, with a mutual collusion, concealed these infractions: and at last they did not so much as make the least mystery of their borrowed names, as we shall fee by what follows. The great pulled off the mask, and the Lex Licinia fell at length into contempt, and the people into indigence and mifery.

This was the cause of new disturbances, so much the more dangerous as the people were grown more numerous and powerful; and that some great men, under pretence of supporting their interests, made themselves the heads of parties. But before I enter into the particulars of these dissentions, I thought it would by very necessary to give some account in what manner the Romans extended their dominion over Italy, Sicily, Spain, and part of Afric and Asia; which I shall relate as briefly as possible, and without stirring from Rome any more than is necessary to give a thorough knowledge of the several revolutions that happened in her government,

the main defign of this work.

[†] The pence of gold were at the rate of feventy two to the pound, or eighty four grains weight, and were current for forty Denarii of filver The penny of gold among the Romans, was worth a thousand Sesterces, and each Sestertium was worth a quarter of their Denarius of filver.



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HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTIONS

That happened in the Government

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK VIII.

L. Manlius is accused before the assembly of the people, of giving hard usage to T. Manlius his son. A bold action of Titus to bring his father off. He kills a Gaul of an extraordinary stature, and is surnamed Torquatus. Valerius Corvus: why so called. The Samnites declare war against the Romans; which concludes to the advantage of these latter. The first war between the Carthaginians and the Romans. After various success on each side, the Carthaginians are obliged to beg peace; which they obtained not, but upon very hard conditions. They repair their losses, and renew the war: Hanibal passes into Italy,

Italy, and reduces Rome to the very point of destruction. He is obliged to return into Africa to defend his own country. Scipio cuts his army to pieces, and takes Garthage. The Roman conquests in Greece and Asia. The Tribuneship of Tiberius Gracchus full of troubles. The death of that Tribune.

HE republic enjoyed a profound peace both at home and abroad; and the people look'd upon the confulship they had just obtained, as a victory which they had won over the Senate and the Patricians. But their Tribunes, who had no way to make themselves considerable, but by new disfentions, complain'd, that for one Curule dignity, which the Patricians had granted to the people, they had got three new magistracies for themselves; that the dignity of Prætor had been created on purpose to make them masters of the administration of juflice; that they had two Curule Ædiles, whose authority quite annihilated that of the Plebeian Ædiles. Therefore they demanded, that all the offices and dignities of the state might be equally common to the nobles and the people; that merit alone shou'd give the preference in all elections; and that, without distinction of rank or birth, it might be lawful to chuse indifferently either Plebeians or Patricians to fill the civil posts, and even those of the priesthood itself. This was the common topick of the discourses with which these turbulent Tribunes entertained the multitude in their affemblies. forgot no elogiums that might make the least actions of the Plebeians feem great and glorious, at the same time that they endeavoured to weaken and detract from the greatest services of the nobility. They even applied themselves to get intelligence of what passed in their private families, upon which they raifed spiteful and exaggerated reports in order to make them contemptible.

It was with this design, that under the consulship

rear of cius; a Tribune of the people called M. Pomponius, cited L. Manlius, who was but just out of his dictatorship, under pretence that this Patrician used one of his sons with too much severity. This son of Manlius named Titus, was born a stammerer: and as in his childhood he gave no proofs of any great capacity, his father had confined him to one of his country houses, where he was employed in tillage, and other works of agriculture, as was practifed even yet among the Romans. Nevertheless Pomponius made it a crime in Manlius, who besides was disagreeable to the people

and in the armies. The affair was profecuted fo vigoroufly, that no body doubted he wou'd be con-

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for the feverity he had exercised in the magistracies,

demned to pay a confiderable fine. Titus Manlius hearing of the danger his father was in upon his account, departs from his village early in the morning all alone; goes to Rome, and comes to the door of the Tribune, who was not yet He fends him word, that the fon of Manlius defired to speak to him about an affair that wou'd admit of no delay. The Tribune fully perfuaded that he came either to thank him for taking his part, or elfe perhaps to difcover to him fome new proofs of his father's feverity, ordered him to be brought in. Manlius, after having faluted him, begged leave to talk with him in private; the Tribune's fervants immediately retired by his order. Then the young man clapped a dagger to his throat; and threatned to kill him, if he did not bind himfelf by the most folemn oaths, to defist from the profecution he had begun against his father: the Tribune affrighted, fwore any thing that he wou'd have him. But he was no fooner rid of fo troublefome a guest, but he went to the affembly of the people to complain of this infult, and demanded to be absolved from his oath. The people, more generous, decreed otherwise: for the sake of the son, they forbid him to carry on his action any further against the father; and to reward his silial piety, the young Manlius was appointed one of the Tribunes of the legions: an employment which the generals disposed of before, but which the people afterwards took into their own nomination.

T. Manlius was not long before he showed by remarkable actions of valour, how worthy he was of this honour. The Cis-Alpine Gauls having again taken arms to revenge their defeat, came and incamped three miles from Rome, near one of the bridges of the Teveron, under the consulship of Year of L. Sulpitius, and C. Licinius Calvus, the same, fame that, during his Tribuneship, had in conjuction with Sextius, laboured so hard to procure the consulate for the order of

Plebeians. At the report of the march of these formidable enemies, they immediately named a Dictator; it was T'. Quintius Pennus, who chose Sergius Cornelius Maluginensis for general of the horse. The Romans, under the command of these generals, immediately advanced to the banks of the Teveron: nothing but the river parted them from the enemy. A Gaul of an enormous fize, and who looked more like a giant than an ordinary man, advanced upon the bridge, and challenged the bravest of the Romans. His big limbs intimidated the stoutest. Manlius alone thought he had now found a danger worthylhis valour: he asked leave of his general to fight the Gaul: " I am in hopes, (fays he,) to show this " Barbarian, that I come of a family fatal to his " nation, and of which the chief precipitated the " Gauls from the top of the Capitol." " Go (fays " the Dictator,) and be as couragious for the glory " of thy country+, as thou wast for the defence of

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[†] Liv. 7. Oros. L. 3. C. 5. Florus, L. 1 C. 13.

"of thy father." The two champions were not long before they engag'd; and Titus Manlius, joining art to valour, flew his enemy, and took from him a gold chain that he wore about his neck, and put it about his own, as a monument of his victory. This got him the firname of Torquatus, which afterwards defcended to his posterity. The success of this single combat appeared to the Gauls to be so ill an omen of the whole course of the war, that they abandoned their camp in the night, and retired with all the haste they could make.

Some years afterwards, a new army of Gauls overrun the territories of the Romans. L. Furius Camillus, the conful, fon of the dictator, marched against them; and M. Valerius had the same advantage as Manlius over another Gaul, Year of whom that Roman vanquish'd in fingle Rome, combat. It is faid, that a raven, which perched upon his helmet during the fight, con- 404. tributed with his beak and claws to the defeat of his adverfary, which gave the name of Corvus to Valerius, and to his descendants that of Corvi-But without dwelling upon the miracle of this event, we shall only observe, that in this second war the fingle fight was fucceeded by a general battle, and with the fame fuccess; the Gauls were defeated, and those that escaped left the Roman do-

This was not the only nation jealous of the power and conquests of the Romans. All those petty states, which, under different names, inhabited Latium and Tuscany, were almost continually at war with them. The Samnites afterwards declared against them; and the Romans could never have subdued them all, if they had not found a way to sow division among them. But to keep

minions, and were some time before they return'd

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[†] Liv. 1. 7. Gell. 1. 9. c. 11. Val. Max. 1. 3. c. 2. Vol. II. F

those people, that were nearest Rome, firm to its interest, they flattered them with the title of Allies of the Roman nation; and when they had made themselves masters of the more distant countries. those who had suffered themselves to be lulled afleep with this name of Allies, found themselves involved in their conquests; and then, though they retained that name, they were treated as subjects. They durft not make war, without the confent of the Senate, and were obliged to furnish their contingent of troops, to affit the Romans in extending their empire and dominion. Such was the conduct of these artful politicians: we may find, in the progress of their arms, the fruits of a scheme of ambition very well laid; and what is most fingular, is, that thefe eternal defenders of liberty were themselves the oppressors of the natural rights of men, and the tyrants of all Italy. Year of The Hernici, who had been almost a whole age in their dependance, first undertook to withdraw themselves from it. All, even the old men, took arms to recover their liberty. Genutius, the Plebeian Conful, was fent against them. This was the first of that order that ever had the command of an army. The Patricians and Plebeians, out of different motives, impatiently expected what would be the fuccess of this war. Genutius fell into an ambush, where he was flain, and most of his troops cut to pieces *.

The Patricians taking advantage of this defeat of the Plebeian Conful, to mortify the Tribunes, and lessen their credit, reproached the people, that the gods had at length severely revenged the profanation of their Auspices, and punished a man who presumed upon an unjust law, to appropriate them

to himself like a Patrician.

The people and their Tribunes, confounded and

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^{*} Liv. l. 7. Orof. l. 3. c. 5.

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abathed, made no reply. They were forced in this misfortune to have recourse to a Dictator. nobility procured that office for Appius Claudius, the grandfon of the Decemvir, the man of all the Patricians most jealous of the privileges of his birth, and the prerogatives of his order. He immediately raised a new army, marched against the enemy, and after a sharp and bloody fight gained a glorious victory. I omit the several little battles that were afterwards fought against the Privernates, the Falisci, the Tarquinians, and the Veliterni. All these nations did not so much make war as incursions upon the Romans. If they were beaten, they either begged peace, or elfe thut themselves up in their towns, without daring to appear in the field again. The Tufcans afterwards arose in their place, and came next upon the stage. They were, as we faid before, a league or community of twelve nations, or twelve petty states, whose power however was not inconfiderable, when their forces were united. This war feemed of importance enough to be committed to the conduct of a Dictator; and notwithstanding all the struggles of the Senate and Patricians, C. Martius Rutilus, though a Plebeian, was nominated to that dignity; he chose for his general of the horse another Plebeian, named C. Plautius *.

The Senate, who had not been able to hinder the election of a Plebeian Dictator, Rome forgot no means to cross his preparations, and to disable him from acquiring any glory. The people, with a contrary view, ran with the greatest alacrity to inlist themselves under his banners; he quickly raised a powerful army; and as he was both a soldier and a captain, he defeated the Tuscans, cut their army to pieces, took eight thousand prisoners, and at his return, in

[.] Liv. l. 7. Diod. lib. 16.

fpite of the Senate's opposition, obtained the honours of a triumph. Thus the people by degrees got a share with the nobility in all the honours and dignities of the republic. They were already in possession of the Curule Ædility, though historians do not mention the names of the two first Plebeians that were invested with it. Philo, another Plebeian, some time afterwards arrived at the Prætorship; and the Martius we just now spoke of, raised himself by his courage and virtue, even to the dignity of Cenfor. After this time, though the distinction between the Patricians and Plebeians yet fubfifted, it was not fo much birth as the Curule dignities that gave nobility; and in the course of this history, we shall fee Plebeians reckoned among the chief and most noble of the republic, because they descended from ancestors that had enjoyed thefe Curule dignities.

The Romans, after having triumphed over the Year of Sabines, the Tuscans, the Latins, the Hernici, the Æqui, the Vossci, and all their petty neighbours, turned their arms against the Samnites, who inhabited that part of Italy which is now called Abruzzo; a fierce and warlike nation, who yielded to the Romans neither in valour nor military discipline, and who, like Rome, had subjects and allies who followed their

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Between two equal powers bordering upon each other, it is needless to look for any other cause of war, but mutual jealousy and competition. Thus the subject, or, to speak more properly, the pretence of this rupture was, that the Samnites undertook to subdue the Sidicini and the Capuans; and that the Romans, who were not for having the Samnites so powerful, opposed their conquests.

The war began by the Sidicini, a little state, of which the Samnites endeavoured to make them-felves masters. The Sidicini had recourse to those

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of Capua, who undertook their defence with more oftentation than power. The Capuans indeed poffessed a very fruitful country, and commerce every day added to their riches. But this wealth of private persons was the weakness of the state. The houses were magnificent; the city without fortistications. Luxury reigned throughout; the purse-proud merchant mistook his vanity for courage, and look'd with contempt upon enemies that were not so rich as he.

This prefumption, and indifcreet contempt of their enemics strength, was the occasion of their ruin. The Samnites, who had a prospect of more glory and advantage in the conquest of them than of the Sidicini, turned their arms against them. It soon came to a battle; the Capuans were defeated in two great conflicts, in which they lost all their youth; and the conquerors, who had no obstacle now left in their way, marched on to a city which had no defence but weak walls, and inhabi-

tants filled with consternation.

The magistrates in this diffress applied themselves to Rome *. They fent a celebrated embaffy to implore the alliance and fuccour of the Romans. Their ambaffadors laid before the Senate all the motives either of glory or of interest, that could engage the republic to take them into their protection, the extremity to which they were reduced, and the power of their enemies, which would grow yet far more confiderable, by the conquest of a city fo rich as Capua. "Such, (added those am-" baffadors) is the wretchedness of our present " condition, that if we are not inftantly relieved " by our friends, we must fall into the hands of " our enemies. If you defend us, you will gain " yourselves allies, that will ever after look upon " you as the restorers of their state, and the second

[·] Liv. I. 7.

" founders of their city. If you abandon us, Ca" pua is no more, or at best becomes subject to
" the Samnites."

The Senate were no strangers to these considerations: but as their design was to get a more solid and real advantage from the assistance of their arms, than a vain title, and empty praises, they barely answered the ambassadors by the mouth of the Consul, that their present condition seemed worthy of pity; and the Romans wished they could with honour succour them: but that the republic had an ancient alliance with the Samnites, which would not allow them to make a new one with their enemies; that the Senate however would send deputies to the camp of the Samnites, to interpose in their behalf, and to endeavour to procure them a treaty of peace, upon conditions as easy as possible.

The chief of the embassy, who was let into the secret of it, found he must make more advantageous propofals, before they should induce the Senate to undertake the defence of Capua. The magistrates, who, before their departure, too well perceived that all that was now left them, was at most the choice of their masters, being inclinable rather to submit to strangers than to be subject to their neighbours, had ordered this ambaffador, that if he could not obtain them the quality of allies to Rome, he should rather make them its tubicces, than fuffer Capua to fall into the power of the Samnites. He therefore made answer to the Conful, that the' the Romans would grant them nothing as allies, he hoped however the Senate would not let the Samnites possess themselves of a city and country, which he was charged to put under their dominion. "In consequence of which, " (added that ambaffador), we now give you, and " fubject to your laws, the city of Capua, our

" country, dominions, temples, and perfons. We

" acknowledge

" acknowledge you for our fovereigns, and protest, in the presence of gods and men, that we

" will preferve an inviolable fidelity to you."

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The Senate having brought the negotiation to the defired point, folemnly accepted of the donation of Capua. And as they were always willing to have justice of their side, or, at least, the appearances of that virtue, they fent ambaffadors to the Samnites, to inform them of this treaty; and at the same time to defire them, in virtue of their ancient alliance, to withdraw their army out of a

country that belonged to the Roman people.

The Samnites, enraged that they should thus pretend to put a stop to the progress of their arms, and to fnatch the city of Capua almost out of their very hands, cried out against the treaty as a mere trick. Their magistrates with indignation rejected the proposal of the Roman ambassadors; and when they went out of the council, gave orders to their general, in their prefence, to deftroy all before him in the territory of Capua with fire and fword. This was a very plain explication of their minds. Accordingly these new hostilities were followed by a declaration of war between the two na- Year of tions. The Senate gave the conduct of it to M. Valerius Corvus, and A. Cornelius Coffus. This war began the four hundred and eleventh year from the foundation of Rome. It was pushed on through the whole course of it with equal animofity on both fides, and though fometimes interrupted with short truces, it still began again with the fame fury. The Cif-alpine Gauls, the Tufcans, the Tarentines, the Latins, and even the Greeks and Africans, took part in it. Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, the greatest captain of his age, crossed the sea in favour of the Tarentines. And the Carthaginians, who now began to get footing in Sicily, and aimed at the total fubjection of it, fent them divers fuccours to put a stop to the

Roman conquests. It was a flame that by degrees fpread all over Italy, which was not quenched without whole streams of blood. Many great battles were fought, and with various fuccess. The Romans, at first victors, but afterwards vanquished, but never discouraged, took arms again with fresh obstinacy. Such a thing as slight was not known in their armies. The foldier was refolved to conquer or die; and more Romans were punished for having fought without orders, than for having given ground, or quitted their posts. At length, after a continual war for above threefcore and ten years, the courage of the Romans, and the heroic valour that appeared in the common foldiers as well as in the officers; their patience in labours, their military discipline, but above all, the love of their country, gave them a complete triumph over Year of their enemies The nation of the Samnites was almost destroyed; Pyrrhus was Rome, drove out of Italy; Tarentum was taken, 417. and its walls demolished. And L. Furius Camillus Conful, giving the Senate an account of the extremity to which he had reduced the Latins, " The Gods, (fays he to the Senators), have made " you so powerful, that it now depends on your " will whether Latium shall be any more."

The Romans granted not peace to the vanquished nations, but on very hard conditions. The Senate, according to their usual politics, took from each a part of their territories. But this policy being carried too far, ruined the country, and afterwards occasioned even in Rome itself very dangerous seditions. The great, by a mutual connivance, appropriated to themselves part of those lands. Their possessions by degrees grew to be petty states, which they peopled with the infinite number of slaves they had made in so long a war. And the original husbandmen being despoiled of their

their inheritance, deferted a country where they

could no longer fubfift.

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The people, and their Tribunes, renewed their complaints against an abuse almost as ancient as the constitution of the republic. They endeavoured to revive the regulation of Licinius, and the decree that fixed the possessions of every Roman citizen to five hundred acres at most; but the laws were not heard amidst the din of arms. There was then fo many, both Patricians and Plebeians, infractors of the law, that it was in vain to hope to reform them. The attempt had certainly been without fuccess; being joint accomplices in the same usurpation, and all at the head of armies, or in the chief posts of the commonwealth, nothing could withstand their power; and the wars that soon after happened with the Carthaginians, left them no leifure to take care of new regulations at home.

Hitherto we have feen the arms of the republic employed only in the continent of Italy. The Romans were almost five hundred years before they could fubdue the Latins, the Tufcans, the Samnites, and their Allies: but they had no fooner fixed their dominion in those great provinces, that stretch quite from the Rubicon, to the furthest extremity of Italy, but they thought of paffing the fea. fuccour given by the Carthaginians to the Tarentines was the pretence; but the conquest of Sicily, the true caufe. Rome and Carthage bent their whole forces against each other. The neighbourhood and jealoufy of these two great commonwealths, bred between them a most bloody war, of which Sicily was the first theatre. This war afterwards was carried into Africa, from whence it extended into Spain, We shall relate the various events of it but very concilely, that we may not wander too far from the principal subject of this work.

Carthage, a colony of the Phænicians, was built upon the coast of Africa, near the place where the

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city of Tunis now stands, about a hundred and thirty seven years before the foundation of Rome. Lybia acknowledged her empire; she always maintained strong sleets, which made her mistress of the sea, and of commerce, and which had extended her dominion quite to the coasts of Spain, and in the

islands of Sicily, Corfica, and Sardinia.

All her citizens were merchants: a continual traffic had acquired them fuch great riches, that they despised the profession of arms. If they happened to be engaged in a war, they bought troops, and were often forced to hire their very generals. This trading republic thought their money was every thing: Rome, on the contrary, nurfed in her bosom a hardy militia: all her citizens were soldiers : not a man was exempted from going to the war; the foot foldier was obliged to ferve twenty years, and the horfeman ten, before he could get his discharge; and very few ever solicited for it. Whenever there was occasion to march to the field, you might have feen the veteran offering himfelf with the fame ardour as the youngest, and all refolved either to conquer or die.

Such was the state of these two republics, when the war between them broke out. The power of the one lay in her legions and land forces; and the other was no less formidable in her fleets and naval armies The Romans, thut up in the con-Year of tinent of Italy, had no experience in ma-Rome, Appius Claudius, Conful, fen rine affairs. 480. of the Dictator, whom we just now spoke of, and brother of Appius Claudius the blind, was the first that, by the help of a few floats, transported troops into Sicily *; which gave him the name of Caudex, as having found out the art of fastening planks together to make transports. These floats quickly came to be ships and gallies, among a peo-

Polyb. l. t. Zonaras, l. 2.

ple diligent, ingenious, and not to be discouraged by labour, who improved by every thing, and learnt of their very enemies, the art and means of con-A Carthaginian galley, drove by quering them. firess of weather upon the coast of Italy, served the Romans for a model to build the like. They laboured at their new invention with fo much eagerness, that in two months time Duillius put to sea a fleet, which defeated that of the Carthaginians. The joy which Rome conceived at this first naval victory, made them, in order to preferve the memory of it, give a kind of perpetuity to the conqueror's triumph; and Duillius, with the Year of confent of the Senate, every time that he returned from feafting with his friends for the remainder of his life, was brought home 493. with flambeaux, and with the found of flutes +.

We shall not dwell upon the consequences of this war, which are not to our subject, nor upon the battles and sieges that happened in Sicily: it is enough to observe, that the Romans having made themselves masters of Agrigentum, and of the chief towns in that island; that having taken Aleria the capital of Corsica, and Olbia in Sardinia, they carried the war, and the terror of their arms, to the very gates

of Carthage.

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L. Manlius, and Q. Ceditius confuls, were intrusted with the care of this expedition; but Ceditius dying in his consulate, he was succeeded by M. Attilius Regulus, a consular person, and a great captain, austere in his manners, as strict over himself as over others, and that still retained the temperance and disinterestedness of the first Romans.

These two generals set fail with a fleet of three hundred and forty ships, with a hundred and forty thousand land forces. The Carthaginians sent against them a fleet as 497.

[†] Cic. de. Senectute. Val. Max. 1. 3. c. 6. Flo. 1. 2. Polyb. numerous,

numerous, composed of lighter ships, and that were better failers. But the Carthaginian foldier was far from equalling the Roman in valour. The fight was long and obitinate, and fortune more than once went over from one fide to the other. While rather the ships fought than the men, the Carthaginians got the better by their skill and experience; but the Romans, whose ships were clumfily built, heavy and unmanageable, having grappled with those of the Carthaginians, they began to fight foot to foot, and as it were on firm land. Then the valour of the Romans, who fought in the presence of their confuls, prevailed over strangers, and auxiliary troops, who make war as they would drive a trade, only for their bread, without defire of glory, or zeal for the cause they serve. The Carthaginian fleet dispersed in flight, and left the passage free to the Romans, who landing upon the coast of Africa, took the town Clupea at the first onset, and afterwards ravaged the enemies country, from whence they brought off twenty thousand captives *.

The confuls fent advice to Rome of this victory, and defired new orders. The Senate returned answer, that they would have Manlius bring back part of the fleet to Italy, to defend the conquefts in Sicily, and that Regulus should carry on the war in Africa. The time of his consulate being expired, he was continued in the same employment, with the title of pro-consul; but soon after he desired a successor, and his discharge, upon information which he had received, that the farmer who cultivated seven acres of land, which was this general's whole inheritance, was dead, and that his servant had stole his utensils of tillage †. Regulus represented to the Senate in his letters, that his wife and children were in danger of starving, if he himself did not

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^{*} Polyb. l. r. Zonaras. Eutrop. Orofius. Florus. † Val. Max. l. 4. c. 4.

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come to repair the state of his affairs by his own presence and labour. The Senate, that they might not interrupt the course of Regulus's victories, decreed that his wife and children should be provided with necessaries, and his land cultivated at the public charge, and that new instruments should be bought for the tillage of it: A very small reward if we look to the value; but more honourable to the memory of that virtuous Roman, than all those pompous titles with which we daily varnish the possessions of those upstarts, that enriched themselves only by rapine, and whose names will be known to posterity only by the calamities which their avarice occasioned in the countries where they made war.

Manlius brought back to the coast of Italy part of the fleet laden with booty, and seven and twenty thousand prisoners. Regulus, on his side, having received the orders of the Senate, went on with his conquests. The Carthaginians were resolved to put a stop to them; they ventured a battle, wherein they were deseated, and lost their best troops. This new victory sinished the throwing the whole country into a consternation; above fourscore places surrendered to the Romans. The Numidians, the ancient subjects of Carthage, rose at the same time, and plundered the country; and the peasants who sled every where from their habitations, slung themselves into Carthage, where by their numbers, and extreme want, they quickly brought samine and contagion.

The Carthaginians, who had no leaders nor generals among themselves of sufficient experience to be opposed to Regulus, sent as far as Lacedæmon, to offer the command of their armies to Xantippus, a captain samous in his own country, and throughout all Greece; and at the same time they dispatched the principal men of their Senate to demand peace of Regulus. This general, who would have been very glad to have returned to Rome, with the glory of having put an end to this war, did not refuse to

Vol. II. G enter

enter into negotiation. But as he held Carthage invested by different bodies of his troops, which were masters of all the posts round it, and as there was no army on foot able to oblige him to raife the fiege: he expected to prescribe the terms of the treaty, and demanded that the Carthaginians should put into his hands the places they still possessed in Sicily and Sardinia; that they should freely restore the prifoners they had taken; and that besides paying a ransom for their countrymen, they should defray the charges of the war, and subject themselves to an annual tribute. Regulus further infifted, that the Carthaginians should not make either war or alliance, without the participation of the Senate; that they should have but one single great ship; and that whenever they received orders from Rome, they shou'd be obliged to fend fifty gallies compleatly equipped for war, to serve where-ever the interest of the republic should make it requisite.

The deputies of Carthage represented to the Roman general, the hardness of these conditions. But Regulus, who thought himself master of the country, answered haughtily, " That enemies must either " conquer, or submit to the law of the conqueror." They parted without concluding upon any thing; and the Carthaginian magistrates, enraged that the Romans should endeavour to impose such conditions upon them, as must reduce them to little less than flavery, caused all the inhabitants to take arms. Xantippus, the Lacedæmonian, arrived about the fame time, put himfelf at their head, and having rallied what troops they had left, marched out into the open field, and offered battle to the Romans. He chose out for his camp a plain, where the elephants he had in his army might have an opportunity of fighting, and more advantageous to the cavalry, wherein he exceeded the Romans. Regulus, in the same policy, and as being the stronger in infantry, ought to have kept to the mountains and heights;

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heights; but his foldiers despising the Greek general, and troops which they had to often vanquished, demanded the fight with great shouts. Regulus had not power to restrain them; the Year of battle was fought in the plain; he was defeated: his foot could not withstand the The Romans loft above enemies horfe. thirty thousand men of their own nation and allies; and the general himfelf was made prisoner. The Carthaginians treated him very roughly, and more like a criminal than a prisoner of war. They loaded him with chains, and buried him in a dungeon, where he was kept almost four years. There hemust have perished; but the Carthaginians having in that time loft feveral confiderable battles both by fea and land, they took Regulus out of his prison, to fend him to Rome, to folicit a peace, or at least an exchange of prisoners. The magistrates, before they put him on board, exacted a promise from him, that if he could obtain no conditions of the Romans, he should come back to Carthage, and return to his chains. It was farther hinted to him, that his life depended upon the fuccess of his negotiation.

It was none of the Senate's fault, that a peace was not concluded, or at least the exchange of prisoners That body thought they cou'd not puragreed to. chase too dear the liberty and safety of such a citizen as Regulus. But the greatest obstacle to the conclusion of the treaty, came from the very man that was commissioned to negotiate it. Regulus being arrived at Rome, laid before the Senate, that by a little constancy, and continuing the war, they would be fure to fubdue the Carthaginians. That as to the exchange of prisoners, the whole advantage wou'd be on the fide of the enemy, whose chief officers, and bost foldiers were detained at Rome: whereas the Carthaginians had but few Romans. and those men advanced in years, or cowards, from whom no fervice could be expected. In a word, this generous Roman argued fo forcibly against his

own interest, that he made them resolve upon the continuation of the war. And without entering his rear of house, or seeing either his wife or children, for fear of being softened by their tears, he returned to Carthage, to disengage his word; he perished there in the most cruel ments*.

The two nations again took up arms with the fame animofity. The fuccess was various: at length two fea fights, in which the Romans had the better, one under the command of M. Rome, Fabius Buteo, conful, and the other under 511. that of C. Lutatius Catulus, forced the Carthaginians to fue for peace again. Rome granted it; but Rome inflexible, and fometimes even cruel to vanquished enemies, gave them not peace but upon very hard conditions. They were forced to deliver up to the Romans the town and port of Lilibæum in Sicily; to abandon that island entirely; to restore all prisoners without ransom; to yield up all deferters; to pay down a thousand talents for the charge of the war, and two thousand two hundred in ten years, by way of tribute. The Carthaginians, quite exhausted, subscribed to any thing; and the treaty was concluded under the confulate of Q. Lutatius and A. Manijus, in the 512th year from the foundation of Rome +.

But it was not so much a peace as a truce. The Carthaginians being the weakest, struck it up only to gain time to repair their forces ‡: they no sooner rear of found themselves in a condition to maintain a new war, but they took up arms again with more fury than ever. The siege they laid to Saguntum, a town of Spain, in alliance with the Romans, was the pretence of this war, and Hannibal the real author of it; he was

^{*} Zallaras. App Alex. in Lybica. Gell. l. 6. Val. Max. l. 6. &. 9. L. Flor. Autor. de viris illust.

[†] Liv. l. 3c. ‡ App. Alex. in Lybica.

born a foldier, and a continual exercise of arms made him a great captain. It was in this war that he gave such glorious proofs of those superior talents, which set him so much above the Roman generals; always just in his schemes; immense views; an admirable genius at hitting the true time for the execution of his designs; the greatest artisce in acting, without being discovered; infinite in expedients; as skilful in recovering himself out of danger, as in drawing others into it; for the rest, without faith, without religion, without humanity, and yet having the art to put on all the appearances of these virtues, as far as was subservient to his interest.

Such was the famous Hannibal, when he formed. the boldest project that ever captain durst conceive, and which was justified by nothing but the event. From the very remotest part of Spain, he resolved to carry the war into Italy, and to attack the Romans in the very center of their dominions, without having there one strong place, one magazine, any certain affiftance, or the least hopes of a vetreat. He marches quite through the heart of Spain and Gaul, paffes the Alps, and encamps boldly upon the very banks of the Tefin. It was here that the first battle was fought; the Romans were de- Year of feated, and the Conful, P. Cornelius Scipio, Rome, their general, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, if his fon, Publius Sci- 535. pio, had not flown to his affiftance. This young man, who was not yet seventeen years old, seeing his father enclosed by a body of the enemy, broke his way alone quite up to him, dispersed with his fword all that furrounded him, and brought him off, just as he was upon the point of being taken or flain.

As the particulars of this war are not to my subject, I shall only observe, that the Romans, under the command and consulate of Tiberius Sempronius, Scipio's colleague,

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league, loft a fecond battle near the river Trebia. Year of The overthrow which Flaminius received near the lake Trasumenus, was still greater; Rome. and the defeat at Cannæ drove Rome to 537. the very brink of destruction. The republic lost fifty thousand men; and the Conqueror fent to Carthage two bushels of gold rings, to show the incredible number of Roman knights that were flain in this battle. This day had been the last the Romans would ever have feen, if Hannibal had known as well how to make use of his victory, as he knew how to obtain it; all he had to do was to appear before the gates of the city, and he had been mafter of it without striking a blow. The consternation was general in Rome, and all the parts adjacent; but the Carthaginian general, though one of his officers affured him he might fup in the Capitol, fuffered himself to be overcome by the pleasures of Capua; pretending that he must give his troops a little repose, he stayed in Campania after his victory; and as if he had been afraid of putting an end to the war too foon, or had acted in concert with the Romans, he gave them time to recover out of their confternation. This small interval was the first step to their prefervation; the young Scipio had the wisdom to take the advantage of it, and he who had faved his father's life in the battle of Tefin, faved all Italy after the battle of Cannæ.

He was then no more than a Tribune in a legion; and the evening after the battle, he was retired with a great many other officers into a neighbouring town, which still held for the Romans. Scipio was informed, that those officers, who were of the best families in Rome, and the only hope which the republic had left, being affembled at the house of one Metellus, and despairing to save the commonwealth, were resolved to embark at the first port, and abandon Italy. So base a thought stirred up his utmost indignation; he resolved to oppose it, though with

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the hazard of his life, and turning to some other officers that happened to be with him: "Let those " (faid he) who value the fafety of Rome, follow " me." He goes directly to the house where the aforefaid council was held, enters, and drawing his fword, "I fwear (fays he) that I will never abandon " the republic, nor fuffer any of her citizens to do " it *." And then, addressing himself to the mafter of the house; "You (fays he) and all that are " here, shall take the same oath, or not a man shall " escape." These threats, the fire and rage that flashed from his eyes, his zeal for his country, his courage, his intrepidity, all thefe made them immediately come into the fame engagement. The very fhame of having been discovered in such a design, recalled their ancient valour; they mutually gave each other their faith, and vowed rather to be buried under the ruins of their country, than to defert her. Every man difperfed the next morning; fome repaired to Rome to defend it, if the enemy should lay fiege to it: others laboured either to rally the fugitives, or to raise new levies about the country. The inhabitants of Rome, who expected every moment to have feen Hannibal at their gates, began to take breath. The Senate gathered courage; the meaner fort of people shook off their fear, and though there was at Rome neither men, nor arms, nor money, all these defects were made up by the love of their country, which was the true character of a Roman. Some freely give their flaves to ferve as foldiers; others strove who should first bring in what gold or filver they had; and they took down from the roofs of the temples old arms, which had been hung up there as trophies, and with thefe they armed part of this new militia.

The war began again with fresh spirit: the Senate gave the management of it to Q. Fabius Ma-

^{*} Livy. Dec. 3. l. 2. c. 12.

ximus, who, by avoiding a battle, hit upon the true way to conquer Hannibal. The general of the Carthaginians stood in need of continual victories, to enable him to maintain himself in a country so remote from his own, where he was often without money or provisions, and where he could get no fupplies from Africa His whole reliance was upon the infinite affection of his foldiers, who perfectly adored him. One can never enough admire how in an army, confifting of foldiers picked up by chance, Numidians, Spaniards, Gauls, and Ligurians, who often wanted bread, the bare presence of Hannibal should prevent the least murmuring; and that all, without fo much as understanding the language of one another, should jointly conspire to give success to their general's defigns.

But notwithstanding his great capacity, he must at last give way to the conduct and fortune of the Romans. They resumed over him the superiority they had lost by the first battle; he now learned, that in affairs of war, there are some favourable and decisive moments, which once lost, never return. And the young Scipio being become, come general, taught him by severe experience, that he was capable of being con-

quered *.

His father Cornelius Scipio, and Cneius, his uncle, both perished in Spain, commanding the armies of the republic. By the death of these two brothers, Spain had been entirely lost from the Romans, if an ordinary knight, L. Martius, had not rallied the fugitives, and defeated one of the two Asdrubals, who commanded the Carthaginian army in those provinces; nevertheless, no body at Rome cared to put up for the conduct of the war, in a country where the enemy was yet so much the stronger. The young Scipio, though scarce four-and-twenty

^{*} Livy, Dec. 3. 5.

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years old, offered himself, thinking it was only his business to revenge the death of his father and uncle *. He was sent thither with the title of Proconsul; he beat the enemies generals upon several occasions, and sive years 542. after his arrival, there was not a Carthaginian left

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From thence he passed over to Africa, almost contrary to the will of the Senate; and as his undertaking seemed rash and presumptuous, the republic at first would not supply him either with troops or money. His reputation, valour, and affability, procured him soldiers: they strove who should first lift themselves under so great a captain; he was soon at the head of a considerable army. He was a second Hannibal; he had all his virtues without his faults. He landed in Africa, while the Carthaginians were continuing the war in Italy.

He first gained over to the side of the republic, the two kings, Syphax and Massiniss: the former afterwards changed his party; he was defeated in a bloody battle, together with Assume, drubal, general of the Carthaginians, and had the missortune to fall into the hands of Lelius the Wise, as Cicero calls that officer, who was the intimate friend, and one of the Lieutenants

of Scipio t.

I shall not dwell upon the course of this war. Scipio, after having gained a second victory over the Carthaginians, gave them, in their turn, apprehensions of seeing him before their walls. Hannibal was recalled to the affistance of his country, and returned to Africa the sixteenth year of this war. At first there was some talk of peace; nay, there was an interview between Scipio and Hannibal; but not coming to any agreement, it plainly ap-

Livy. † Polyb. l. 10. † Cic. Offic. 2. in Orat. pro Arch. et pro Murena.

peared that the fword alone must decide the pre-

tensions of the two republics.

The armies foon meet: the battle was fought near Zama. The dispute was for empire and liberty; both generals upon this occasion employed their utmost capacity in taking advantage of the disposition of the ground, and ordering their troops for battle. The soldiers, on their parts, fought like men that were animated with the spirit and courage of those two great leaders. The success was long doubtful; at length the victory remained with Scipio. The Carthaginians lost twenty thousand men, slain upon the spot, and as many were made prisoners of war.

Peace was the fruit of this victory. The Tear of Carthaginians having fpent their strength, Rome. fued for it with the confent even of Hanni-552. bal himself. The Romans did not grant it without conditions, which might be looked upon as a second victory*. They stripped the Carthaginians of their fleets, and their elephants : they were forced to reftore the prisoners of war, and to deliver up the deferters. Immense sums were also exacted from them. And, which they thought fill more rigorous, they were forbid to fend ambassadors, to make any alliance, or the least armament, without the knowledge, and express permission of the Senate.

So strict and mortifying a dependance did not yet satisfy the ambition of the Romans. Carthage, yet in being, daily recalled the memory of the battles of Trasumenus and Cannæ. Rome resolved to destroy an object that gave them such disagreeable restections. This was the cause of the third Punic war. The young Scipio, son of Paulus Æmilius, and who was adopted by Scipio, the son of Africanus, entirely ruined that stately city,

Polyb. l. 15. App. Alex. Zonaras.

which had prefumed to dispute the empire of the world with Rome. The inhabitants were dispersed into serveral parts, and Carthage was nothing now but a vain 607.

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This city subdued, and then ruined, lifted up the hearts of the Romans. Those who a few years before had fought for the defence of Rome, now aspired to the conquest of the whole world. They carried their arms into East and West. Antiochus the Great, who reigned over the better part of Afia, was defeated, and constrained to retire to the other fide of Mount Taurus. The Infubrians and the Ligurians were conquered : Macedon, after various wars, which it is not my bufinefs to treat of here, was reduced into a province as well as Illyrium. And the Greeks endeavouring to withdraw themselves from the dependence of the Achæans, fell under the dominion of the Romans, who, in lefs than one century, extended their conquests over the three parts of the continent. All Italy, all Spain, Illyrium, quite to the Danube, Africa, Greece, Thrace, Macedon, Syria, all the kingdoms of Asia Minor, were members of this vast empire; and the Romans struck the terror of their arms, and the respect of their power, into the most barbarous nations.

The luxury of the East came to Rome with the spoils of those great provinces. To maintain it, they began to make interest for the offices of the republic, the profit of which increased with the empire. The manners of the Romans received a change with their fortune, and one would think it was another nation that is now going to appear upon the stage. We shall indeed find among them more skill in the art of war, generals of more capacity, and armies almost invincible; all these ma-

[†] App. Alex. in Lybica. Strabo l. ultim.

naged by a policy fleady, provident, and always confistent with itself: but then we shall find less equity in their counfels. The pleasure of conquest and dominion foon corrupted that exact probity, formerly so esteemed in the Romans by their very enemies. Ambition took the place of justice in their undertakings; a fordid avarice, and private regards fucceeded the care of the public good : love of their country was turned into an adherence to leaders of factions. In a word, victory, peace, and plenty, destroyed that concord between the great and the people, which the employment given them by the Punic wars had before maintained, And the two Gracchi, by renewing propofals, just in all appearance, but not at all convenient in the present state of the republic, kindled the first sparks of the civil wars we are now going to fpeak of.

Tiberius Gracchus, and Caius Gracchus, were fons of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a consular person, a great captain, and who had been honoured with two triumphs; but one that was yet more illustrious for the excellency of his manners, and his persect disinterestedness: virtues which now began to be remarkable, as being less common than formerly among the Romans. The Sempronian samily, though Plebeian, was one of the greatest distinction in the commonwealth, since the people had been admitted indifferently with the nobles in-

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to the first dignities of the state.

The mother of the Gracchi, named Cornelia, was daughter of the great Scipio. Tiberius, her eldest son, was married to the daughter of Appius Claudius, the prince of the Senate; Caius to that of Publius Crassus; their fister, named Sempronia, was married to the young Scipio, son of Paulus Amilius. So, that these two brothers, by several alliances, were related to the chief families in the republic.

These advantages in Tiberius, were supported by a noble

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a noble air, an engaging countenance, and all those winning graces of nature, which serve as a recommendation to merit. At the same time, says an ancient historian *, he had acquired all the virtues that can be expected from an excellent education, abundance of wisdom, moderation, frugality, and public spirit. His mind was besides adorned with the finest parts of learning; and at thirty years old, he was accounted the best orator of his age. His style was pure, his terms choice, his expression simple, but always noble, and so moving, that he stole away the assent of all that heard him.

His enemies gave out, that beneath manners for infinuating, he concealed an inordinate ambition, an implacable hatred against the Senate, and an extravagant zeal for the interest of the people, which he made the motive or pretence of all his

undertakings.

It was this adherence to the interest of Year of the people, and perhaps an inclination to diftinguish himfelf, that made him take up the defign of the partition of lands; an old pretention, which the great men of Rome thought quite extinguished by oblivion and prescription, but which he undertook to revive; tho' he well forefaw the strong resistance he should meet with on the part of the Senate; nay, and from the richer fort among the people. It is faid, that he was inspired with this design by his mother Corneia, a woman fond of glory; who, to ftir up her fon's ambition, had given him a kind of reproach, because she was called in Rome only the mother-inlaw of Scipio, and not the mother of the Gracchi. the was continually giving him to understand, that was time he should make himself known by his own actions; that indeed, his brother-in-law Scipio

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[.] Vel Paterc. l. 1.

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ftood in the first rank among the captains and generals of the public, but that he, in another course, and by laws ufeful to the people, had still room to make himself a great name; that this was the only way he had left to raife himfelf to fome degree of equality with the conqueror of Carthage; and that by calling the people to a share in the public lands, he would render bimfelf no less famous than his

brother-in-law had done by his conquests.

But C. Gracchus wrote, in a history quoted by Plutarch, that his brother formed this project of himself; and that a journey which he made thro' part of Italy before his Tribuneship, had put it into his thoughts. That historian relates, that Tiberius observed with surprize, that the country which formerly was filled with rich inhabitants, and afforded the republic a ferviceable militia, was now peopled with none but flaves, whose condition exempted them from going to the wars: that a change fo prejudicial to the commonwealth had made him refolve to restore the Lex Licinia to its ancient force, and to bring the poorer fort of people into a thare of those lands, in order to relieve their want, and enable them to raife up children that might come to fill the legions. Which ever of thefe fecret motives be true, whether private ambition, or zeal for the public good; Tiberius was no fooner come to the Tribunethip, but he declared his intention to revive the Lex Licinia. However, he proposed it with all the mitigations that he thought would pacify the usurpers of the public lands.

We have heard before, that this law forbid any Roman citizen to possess above five hundred acres of those lands, upon pain of ten thousand asses fine. Nay, in the rigour of law, those who had infringed it, may be forced to repay into the public treasury the produce of fuch lands as exceeded the quantity allowed by the law. Tiberius, who thought

thought he should obtain enough if he could only bring it again into force, proposed a general am-

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But the grandees of Rome, and the richest citizens, who thought themselves above the laws, rejected with contempt this qualification of one which they pretended was out of date. Most of them, in a full affembly, called the Tribune a promoter of fedition, and a diffurber of the public peace. Tiberius, without forgetting his character, asked them with the greatest moderation, Whether the condition of the inhabitants of the country, who had neither lands of their own, nor even of other mens to cultivate, did not fill them with compassion? Whether they were not yet more moved at the mifery of their fellow-citizens, who of all the conquests which the republic had made, had nothing left but the fears of the wounds which they had received in the wars? What they themselves meant to do with that multitude of flaves with which they had filled Italy, those slaves, no less useless in war than they were dangerous by their numbers in peace? Then addressing himself to the meaner fort of people, he represented to them their own wretchedness in a tender manner, and so as to flir up their indignation. "The wild beafts, (faid he), " have dens and caverns to retire into; while the " citizens of Rome have not fo much as a roof or " a cottage to shelter them from the inclemency of " the weather, but are forced to wander about like " miserable exiles in the heart of their own "country. They call you, (added he), the lords " and masters of the universe. What lords! what " mafters! You, whom 'they have not left fo " much as an inch of ground to ferve you even " for a grave!"

Though Tiberius's design was not so much to relieve the poverty of private persons, as to repeople the country, upon which he thought the fortune

of the republic depended, yet these discourses, which he often repeated, got him the praises and the affection of the multitude. They were overjoyed at having a Tribune of so much wisdom, and so full of zeal for the interests of the people. Triberius having established his credit, and finding the minds of the citizens in that warmth and emotion which was so necessary to the success of his designs, convened the assembly, which was to proceed to the publication, or, to speak more properly, to the revival of the Lex Licinia.

Tiberius showed the justice of this law with so much eloquence; he made so frightful a description of the misery and wretchedness of the meaner fort of people, and of the inhabitants of the country; and at the same time set forth in such odious colours, the usurpation of the public lands, and the immense riches, which the avarice and rapaciousness of the great had raked together, that all the people, as it were, transported with sury, with loud cries, demanded the billets that they might

give their fuffrages.

The rich, to keep off the publication of the law, privately conveyed away the urns in which those billets were preserved. This fraud provoked the Tribune's indignation, and the rage of the people: a thousand confused noises arose in the astembly. The rich, who wanted nothing but to gain time, sent two consular persons * to Tiberius, to beg him to appease the people, and to restore quiet to the city.

The Tribune asked them what he could do, without being wanting to his duty and his honour? "Suspend for this one day, (answered the two

"Confulars), the proposal of the law; give time to men, who are now too much blinded by their

" paffion, to become less averse to equity and rea-

^{*} Manlius and Fulvius.

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" fon; and in the mean while, the Schate will " find ways to bring the different parties to a recon-" ciliation." Tiberius confented to their request, and dismissed the assembly. The Senate was convened the next day. Tiberius relied upon the usual condescension of that body, and flattered himself, that the fear of a sedition would oblige the Senators to yield up at length a part of the difputed lands: and indeed there were feveral among them that, through a principle of equity, were for paying some regard to the complaints of the Tribune, and the mifery of the people. But the parties concerned, who happened to be the greater number, would not hear of any composition what-The rich, who feared they should be ftripped of lands on which they had built magnificent edifices, shook with anger and indignation at the mere name of Fiberius. Some faid, that they had received these lands from their ancestors; that their fathers were buried in them, and that they would defend their tombs to the last drop of their blood. Others demanded to be regaid the portion of their wives, which they had laid out in purchases of that nature: and there were some that produced contracts, either real or forged, for money which they had borrowed at great interest, to buy the lands which were now to be taken from them. Various schemes were laid to hinder the publication of the law. Some were for privately ridding themselves of the Tribune, whom they called a tyrant: others, more moderate, proposed feveral ways to prevent the affembly of the people. But at length they had recourse to the expedient of opposition, which the Senate had often before made use of with great success. All they had to do for this purpose, was to gain over only one of the Tribunes of the people, who, by the privilege of his office, had a right, as we have faid betore, to oppose any motion of his colleagues. The

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party of the rich addressed themselves to M. Octavius: though he was a friend to Tiberius, there needed neither prayers nor promises to win him. His own interest was sufficient to bring him into the cabal, and he with the more readiness undertook to withstand Tiberius, as he actually possessed a greater quantity of conquered lands than the law allowed. Thus they were secure of his opposition.

This underhand negotiation was not managed with fo much privacy, but that Tiberius got some knowledge of it: and he was also informed, that the opposite party intended to create several obstacles to the assembling of the people, or at least to their coming to any final resolution; which was no hard matter, in a city where superstition reigned so despotically, and where no laws could be consirmed without taking the Auspices, and consulting the Priests and Augurs, who never failed to return answers conformable to the interests of the

ruling party.

Tiberius heard, not without indignation, of the impediments which were to be laid in his way, to hinder the execution of his designs. But as he was one who, under the most gentle and infinuating manners, preferved an invincible courage and unthaken constancy, nothing was able to deter him. He first applied to his colleague: he conjured him by the mutual duties of their function, and by the bonds of an ancient friendship, not to oppose the good of the people, whose magistrates and patrons they were obliged to be; and to bring him over, he offered at his own expence, to make him amends for the full value of the lands which he would be obliged to reflore. Octavius did not deny, that he was refolved to oppose the publication of a law, which must inevitably fill all the families of Rome with trouble and confusion. He added, that he himself would meet with greater obflacles than he imagined. And to shew himself no less generous than

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than his colleague, he rejected his offers, and feemed immoveable in the party he had embraced.

Tiberius having reflected upon what his colleague had faid to him, thought at last he had hit upon a way to elude his opposition. Being at the same time resolved to avoid the artful methods that had so often been practised to put off the assemblies of the people, or to hinder them from agreeing upon any decree, he by a new edict suspended all the magistrates from their functions, till the law was either approved or rejected by the voices of the people. He put his own seal upon the gates of the temple of Saturn, where the coffers of the treasury were kept, to the intent that neither the Quæstors nor Treasurers might have any access to them; and subjected to great fines all such magistrates as

should not pay obedience to his order.

After having taken these precautions, he called a new affembly of the people. The day being come, he commanded an officer to read aloud the law which he offered for their acceptance. Octavius did not fail to oppose it, and to forbid the reading This bred sharp disputes between the two Tribunes. But it was observed, that notwithstanding the heat with which both maintained their opinion, not a word escaped from either, that cou'd give the other offence. Tiberius, on the contrary, addressing himself to his colleague in that winning manner which gained him all men's hearts, conjured him by their ancient friendship to oppose the interests of the people no longer, but generously to facrifice his private ties to the good of fo many poor families, whose relief he deferred. Octavius replied, That he did not think the law he proposed could be executed without ruining the greatest families, which were the strongest support to the commonwealth, and occasioning in the city a vast number of intricate law-fuits upon account of trufts. added, That even though it were possible, without any inconvenience, to recover out of the hands of the proprietors what lands exceeded the quantity of five hundred acres, this overplus, when divided among the infinite numbers of poor citizens that were then in Rome, would do them very little fervice; that therefore he would never confent to the publication of a law, that wou'd ruin the rich with-

out enriching the poor

The great men of Rome triumphéd upon this opposition; but Tiberius, who had a greater capacity, or more boldness than any that ever preceded him in the Tribuneship, defeated their joy by a new and very extraordinary expedient. " custom, (fays he, addressing himself to the assem-" bly,) will not allow a Tribune to propose any new " law, if but one of his colleagues forbids it, it is " but justice that I shou'd submit to the opposition " of Octavius. But then, as the Tribunethip was " created only with a view to the redreffing of the " people's grievances, and as that Tribune, who " forfakes this view, destroys the very foundation of his institution; I demand, that the people, by plurality of voices, decide which of the two, Oc-" tavius or I, acts most contrary to their interests; " and that he who is judged to have failed in his " duty, and to have abused his privilege of oppo-" fition, be immediately deposed. For, (added Ti-", berius,) if the Roman people, to punish the lust " and violence of a fingle man, had power to de-" prive a king of his crown, and to suppress the " royal dignity itself, in which the authority of all " other magistrates is comprehended: who can " doubt but that the same people has power to " abolish the Tribuneship, if it grows incompatible " with their liberty, and much more to depose a " Tribune, if he abuses the privileges of his office, " and turns against the people themselves, a power " with which he was intrusted only to procure their " advantage?" The people, who always find justice in whatever makes for them, gave great praises to an argument more fubtle than folid. The expedient proposed

proposed by Tiberius, was unanimously approved, and they resolved to decide the very next day, which of the two Tribunes shou'd be excluded from the Tribuneship. Tiberius, who had found a way to make his own interest that of the people, was in no pain for himself; but as he was apprehensive that Octavius wou'd resuse to expose his dignity to such a trial, he offered, in hopes to induce him to submit to the judgment of the people, that he himself shou'd convene the assembly, and preside in it. And the more to draw him into it, he added with a seeming indifference, that, for his part, he shou'd lay down the Tribuneship with more pleasure than

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Octavius did not give into this frare; he too well knew to what a degree Tiberius, who was the idol of the people, was mafter of their voices; and befides, he was very cautious how he either convened the affembly, or prefided in it, left he shou'd by such a step give authority to a decree to which he was fure of falling a victim. Tiberius, upon his refufal, called the affembly himself for next day. was there feen at Rome fo numerous an appearance of her citizens: rich and poor, the Senate, grandees, and the principal men of the city, all flocked to it with equal expectation. It was a very extraordinary fpectacle to fee two Tribunes fo hotly engaged against each other; and it had been no difagreeable entertainment to the Senators, if, in this famous contention, the loss of the public lands had not been inseparable from Octavius's deposal. berius having afcended the Rostrum, once more exhorted his colleague to withdraw his opposition: but finding that he refolutely perfifted in it, he propoied the question to the affembly, which of them two the Roman people would remove. The billets were immediately given out. Of five and thirty tribes, into which they were then divided, feventeen had already given their voices against Octavius; and

and there now wanted the suffrages of but one tribe to compleat his sentence; when Tiberius, being willing to make one more trial, whether it was not possible to prevail upon him, suspended the deliberation, and addressing himself to Octavius, conjured him, in the most pressing terms, not to expose himself by his obstinacy to so great a disgrace, nor to give him the grief of having been forced to distance the standard of the s

honour his colleague and his friend.

It was observed, that Octavius cou'd not hear these words without concern; the tears came into his eyes: but casting his look towards the Senate, he was assumed to break his word with them, and boldly answered Tiberius, that he might finish his work. That Tribune, full of indignation at his adherence to the faction of the rich, continued to gather the votes: Octavius was deposed; the people tore him from his tribunal, and in their sury would have insulted him farther, had not the grandees, whose victim he had made himself, facilitated his retreat.

This obstacle being thus got over by the removal of the magistrate who had occasioned it, the Lex Licinia was revived with one confent. Three commissioners, or triumvirs, were afterwards chofen to hasten its execution. The people gave Tiberius the first place in this commission; and he had interest enough besides to get for his colleagues his father in-law Appius Claudius, and his brother C. Gracchus, though this young Roman was not above twenty years old, and was then actually performing his first exercises in war, at the siege of Numantia, under Scipio, who was his brother-in-law. people, as another mark of their favour, gave Octavius's place to Mutius, an obscure man, and one: that had no merit but the recommendation of Tiberius; fo that this plebeian magistrate, now grown absolute master of the Tribuneship, and superior to the whole Senate, by means of his power over the

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minds of the people, was as it were the fole governor of the republic; at least the other magistrates cou'd do nothing if he were against them, while he, independently of all the rest, was sure of success in

every thing he undertook.

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This absolute empire in a republic, was odious to the Senate, and even to the Plebeians themselves. His enemies took hold of this advantage; they infinuated that their liberty was in the greatest danger: and many openly averred, that Caffius and Melius, who were put to death, had never made themselves fo fuspicious: " Is it not certain, (added they,) that " when the fafety of the state is concerned, the bare " probability of a crime ought to be punished? " shall we delay to stand up against Tiberius, till " his accomplices have fet the crown upon his " head?" The femalicious discourses lessened his credit; and just about the same time he lost one of his most zealous adherents. The unexpected death of that friend, the cause of which was unknown. gave a fuspicion that it was not natural.

The rich and the poor then formed two parties, very much embittered against each other, and that fought nothing but one another's destruction. Tiberius, with defign to increase the animofity of the people, and to show that he was apprehensive of an affaffination, fuffered it to appear that he was armed under his robe. He put on habits of mourning, as was the custom in the greatest calamities, and bringing his children yet young into the Forum, and into the middle of the affembly, he recommended them to the people, in terms which gave to understand, that he despaired of his own preservation. The people at this fight returned no answer, but by outcries and menaces against the rich. Never did so much hatred against the Senate appear before. 'Tiberius kept up this aversion in the people, sometimes by working upon their pity, and fomtimes by motives of revenge, or by new prospects of advantage.

This artful Tribune raised these various sentiments by turns, according to the disposition of peoples

minds, and the posture of affairs.

The death of Attalus Philopater, king of Pergamus, gave him a new opportunity to bind the multitude yet more firmly to himfelf. That prince, by his will, had named the Roman people to be his Tiberius, who always acted by the fame spirit, proposed a new edict, which shou'd decree that all the king of Pergamus's treasure should be divided among the poorest of those citizens, who were to have a share in the distribution of the public lands, in order to buy them cattle, and the utenfils necessary for cultivating their little inheritance. " As to the cities, and their territories, (added Tiberius,) I will make my report of them to the " people, when I am better informed in that mat-" ter; and they shall dispose of them in their as-" femblies, as a legacy which belongs to them."

Plutarch writes, that of all Tiberius's undertakings, none offended the whole body of the Senate fo much as this defign; which by referring to the people the cognizance of fo great an affair, conveyed to them the whole authority of the government, and deprived the Senators of the immense profit which they thought to have made by difpofing of that prince's dominions. Ambition and interest stirred up the highest resentment in the chief men of Rome. They publicly reproached Tiberius, that his intent in giving the disposal of Attalus's kingdom to the people was to have the crown placed upon his own head. He was even accused of endeavouring to make himself the tyrant of his own country; nay, there were fome who reported that he had before-hand got possession of Attalus's royal diadem, and purple robe. But these injurious calumnies, which proceeded from nothing but the aversion of the great, did not at all agree with the character of Tiberius. Never man was more a republican

blican than that Tribune. All that he had done in the business of the partition of the lands, had no other end but to bring the condition of the poor citizens nearer to that of the rich, and to establish a

kind of equality among them all.

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It is true, he afterwards carried this principle too far, and perceiving that his laws had provoked an implacable hatred against him in the great, and that his death was refolved upon, he kept no farther measures. He applied himself wholly to undermine the authority of the Senate, and to fecure himfelf an afylum in the power of the people. It was with this view that he was daily proposing new laws. At one time he was for diminishing the number of years which the foldiers were obliged to ferve; at another, he demanded that it might be lawful to appeal to the affembly of the people from the judgements of all other magistrates. But of all the blows which he gave to the authority of the Senate, there was none that ftruck fo deep, as the new propofal he made to put as many Knights as Senators into the feveral tribunals of Rome.

Tiberius gave the people a prospect of laws so much to their advantage, only that they might continue him in the Tribuneship, to prosecute the passing of them. The Senate, enraged at these new enterprizes, formed a strong cabal to keep him out of it. The magistrates, the grandecs, the richest of Rome, and even some Tribunes of the people who were jealous of his great credit, listed themselves in this party. And the day of election being come, as the Tribune, who presided in the assembly, had a great influence over the votes, they disputed that right with Mutius, a creature of Tiberius, though it was devolved to him by the

disposal of Octavius, whom he represented.

This opposition of the Tribunes seemed to Tiberius an ill omen: he plainly found there was a strong party formed against him. In order to come

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to a knowledge of its power and defigns, he contrived to fpend the whole time of the affembly in disputes with his colleagues about the precedence; and night coming on, the election was forced to be

put off till the next day.

He employed that whole night in securing the heads of the people. His adherents dispersing themselves into different parts of the city, exhorted the Plebeians to repair betimes to the Forum. Most of them, to show their zeal, came before break of day. The great and rich being informed that the people had got possession of the Forum, resolved to drive them out by open force, rather than suffer Tiberius to be continued in the Tribuneship. They got together for their guard their clients, their domestics, and their slaves, who were privately armed with sticks, and expected them at the door of the Senate.

Tiberius, who knew nothing of their designs, prepared to go to the Forum. But he had unlucky presages which kept him back, and which superstition and prejudice then regarded as the surest

interpreters of the will of the deity.

Word was brought him that the facred fowls had that morning refused to eat. As he went out of his house, he hurt his foot against the threshold of his door; and he had not gone far, when some ravens that were fighting threw a tile down at his feet. This, in those days, was enough to withhold the most daring. The Tribune, affrighted at these omens, was going to return home; but a certain Greek philosopher *, an intimate friend of Tiberius, laughing at these vulgar prejudices, put him in mind what a shame it would be to Tiberius Gracchus, Tribune of the Roman people, son of a Consular, and grandson of the great Scipio, if it were said, that though he was at the head of a

[·] Bloffius.

powerful party, the croaking of two crows put

him off from the execution of his defigns.

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This reproach made the Tribune ashamed of his weakness, and several of his adherents running from the assembly to hasten his coming, told him he would find the greatest number of votes united in his favour. Tiberius followed them, and accompanied by his particular friends, afcended the Capitol. The people, the moment they perceived him, broke out into shouts of joy and applause. But scarce was he placed in his tribunal, when a Senator that was his friend, breaking through the crowd, and coming up to him, gave him notice that there was a conspiracy against his life, and that the grandees of Rome, especially those that were personally concerned in the affair of the lands, were refolved to attack him openly in his very tribunal.

The friends of the Tribune, moved at the danger to which he was exposed, got together about him, tucked up their gowns, and laying hold of the arms of the lictors, prepared to defend him, and to repel force by force. Tiberius endeavoured to make the people acquainted with the information he had received; but the tumult, the noise, and the clamours of the different parties, hindering him from being heard, he touched his head with his two hands, in order to make the people conceive that his life was in danger. His enemies hence took occasion to cry out, that he asked a crown, and some of the hottest ran to tell the Senate, that the people were just going to crown Tiberius, if they did not speedily oppose it.

This was an artifice to make the Senate overlook all forms, and proferibe him immediately. Most of the Senators, whom the execution of the Lex Licinia would have stripped of part of their lands, run into the most bitter speeches against Tiberius. But no body was more inveterate than his own kinfman Scipio Nafica. That Senator addreffing himself to the first Consul, represented to him, That all the novelties which the Tribune had introduced into the government, were but so many steps to raise himself to the throne; that there was not a moment's time to be lost, and that they must destroy the tyrant, if they would preserve their liberty. But that wise magistrate, who would not make himself the minister of the revenge of particular persons, replied, That he was equally incapable of approving the new laws, and of putting the author to death, contrary to the usual forms of justice.

An answer so full of moderation, only enraged those exasperated spirits the more. Scipio arose abruptly from his place; and turning towards those Senators that were concerned like himself in the loss of the lands: "Since the chief magistrate, " (fays he), out of so scrupulous a subjection to " the usual forms of justice, refuses to succour " the republic, let those who value liberty above " life follow me." At the fame time he gathers up his robe, and puts himself at the head of the Senators of his party, who run hot with fury to the Capitol, with that multitude of clients, fervants, and flaves, that attended them at the door Those people, armed only with or the Senate. clubs and leavers, went before the Senators, and fall indifferently upon all that stand in their way.

The people, terrified, take to flight. In this tumult every man disperses different ways. Tiberius's friends abandon him. He is at length obliged to provide for his own safety, as well as the rest; he slings off his robe, that he may run with the more freedom; but in that hurry of spirits, which is inseparable from fear, he tumbles down in his slight; and as he got up again, Publius Satureius, one of his colleagues, secretly jealous ohis glory, gave him a blow on the head with the

Book VIII. in the ROMAN REPUBLIC. 10

foot of a chair. He falls again with this blow, and a crowd of his enemies rushing forward upon him, finished the work. His death did not put an end to the d forder: the fury was equal in all parts of the city, and above three hundred of Tiberius's friends and adherents lost their lives in this tumult. It is observable, that not one was killed by the sword, but all were bruised to death with stones or clubs. Their bodies were afterwards flung into the Tyber with that of Tiberius.

The faction of the great extended their refentment to all that had been known to favour his fentiments. Several of them were put to death. Popilius, then Prætor, banished great numbers. And no methods were forgot to strike a terror into those that should ever have any thoughts of attempting.

the like regulation for the future.

The End of the Eighth Book.

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ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK IX.

C. Gracchus, the brother of Tiberius, obtains of the people the office of Tribune, notwithstanding the opposition of the great. He proposes several laws, and makes various alterations in the government, which render him almost absolute in Rome, and all over Italy. The year of his Tribuneship being expired, he is continued in the same post, without making the least interest for it. In what manner the Senators contrived to diminish his credit. Scipio Emilius, the destroyer of Carthage and Numantia, is the most open opposer of the Agrarian law. He is found dead in his bed. Caius is suspected of having a hand

a hand in his affassination. His colleagues, jealous of his authority, find means to exclude him from a third Tribunate. The Senators, when they find Caius returned to a private condition, give the Conful Opimius a charge to annul all his laws, and especially that relating to the partition of the lands. Opimius convenes a general affembly to determine this great affair. One of the Conful's Lictors being flain by the Plebeians, without the confent of Caius, the Senate impowers Opimius to put his adherents into arms. Caius is killed, and his head brought to the Conful, who pays seventeen pound and a half of gold for the murder. The grandees at length obtain an acknowledgement, that they are the lawful possessors of the conquered lands, by engaging themselves to pay a certain rent, which they continue not long to do. Jugurtha. Who he was. His first campaigns. His money for some time serves him instead of justice at Rome: but at length his crucity obliges the Romans to fend troops into Numidia. After having successfully employed against these formidable enemies, bribery, stratagem, and force, he is delivered up by Bocchus, carried to Rome, dragged like a flave at the wheels of a triumphal chariot, and at last thrown by an executioner into a dungeon, where he is starved to death. Marius. Sylla.

R OME now first knew what it was to have a civil war raging within the very circumference of her walls. All the seditions, which till now had risen about the retreat to the Mons Sacer, the abrogation of the debts, the establishment of the Tribuneship, the promulgation of various laws, all these dissentions constantly terminated by way of accommodation, and without the essuance of human blood, sometimes by the people's respect for the Senate, and oftner yet by the Senate's condescension to the people. But upon this last occasion, the quarrel

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quarrel was decided by violence, and it was a Tribune of the people himself, that without respect to his own dignity, though reputed sacred, gave the

first blow to his colleague *.

In the mean-time, the people being recovered from their fear, reproached themselves with his death, as much as if they had with their own hands affaffinated the man whom they did not defend with fufficient courage. Their indignation then fell upon Scipio Nafica, the beginner of the tumult. Plebeians never met him in the streets, but they publicly upbraided him with murder and facrilege. Some boiling with rage threatned to kill him; others proposed to summon him before the affembly of the people The Senate fearing left his presence might raife a new fedition, thought proper to remove him, and therefore fent him into Asia, with a seeming commission, to disguise a real punishment. The Senate, to appeare the people effectually, confented also to the execution of the law; they fuffered another commissioner to be chosen in the place of Tiberius, for the partition of the lands; nay, and granted that employment to Publius Craffus, whose daughter was married to C. Gracchus, Tiberius's brother. But all this was only to amuse the people; Tiberius's laws were still as odious as ever to the great. The death of Appius Claudius, one of the Triumvirs, gave them a new pretence for suspending the execution of them; and the division of the lands began to be looked upon to be one of those affairs which it is intended to bring to nothing, by letting them fall into oblivion.

Caius Gracchus was the only man from whom the people could look for affiftance. But besides that he was too young to enter into public basiness, being but one-and-twenty years old when his bro-

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^{*} Plut. in Gracchis. App. Alex. Civ. l. 1. Vel. Patere. Orof L. Florus.

ther was killed; it was observed, that fince his death he always feemed unwilling to flow himfelf abroad, either fearing in reality the enemies of his house, or defigning by this affected terror to make them more odious to the people. For it was not long before it appeared, that he had thus voluntarily banished himself from the conversation of the world, only to fit himself to shine in it more conspicuously,

and to revenge the death of his brother.

There were, as we have feen, but two ways that led equally to all the dignities of the republic, eloquence and remarkable valour. Caius had already diftinguished himself at the war of Numantia, under the young Scipio, his general, and brother-in-law. The death of Tiberius, and the ill fuccess of his party, having obliged him to disappear, he spent the whole time of his retreat in the study of eloquence, a talent fo absolutely necessary in a republican government. He buried himfelf in a closet; his door was thut against the young Romans of hisown age, and the friends of his family. He was quickly forgot, and the brother of Tiberius, and the grandson of the great Scipio, was unknown in Rome. The grandees beheld this retreat with abundance of pleasure, as an effect of the consternation which the death of his brother had struck into him, and as a filent declaration that he durft not meddle in the government.

But they foon found that he had withdrawn himself from business, only to make himself more capable of it. He came out of his retreat to defend one of his brother's friends, named Vectius; whom the opposite party endeavoured to destroy upon an accusation of several crimes. Caius undertook his defence; he for the first time ascended the Rostrum, The people could not fee him in that place, without the loudest acclamations, and the most extraordinary transports of joy: they imagined they faw revised in his person a second Tiberius, and a new

protector

protector of the Agrarian Laws. This benevolence, which they showed him in so remarkable a manner, inspired him with a considence and boldness very rarely known in those who speak in public for the first time; and he pleaded for his client with so much eloquence and strength, that he was acquitted by the unanimous voices of the whole assembly.

Having by this first action made a trial of his own capacity, and of the disposition of the people's minds, he thought that, before he launched wholly into public affairs, it would be of fervice to him to have that reputation which is obtained by valour, and the exercise of arms. He asked and obtained Year of the office of Quæstor to the army which was then in Sardinia, under the command Rome. of the Conful Oresta: this was the first 627. employment with which it was necessary to begin to attain the dignities of the republic. Plutarch, in the life of Caius, relates, that no man in the army showed more valour against the enemy, and more regard to the military discipline. People above all admired, in an age so little advanced, his temperance, and the austerity of his manners: these did not make him the less civil or complaifant. The officer, and private foldier, that had to do with him upon account of his post, were equally charmed with his affability, his diligence, and especially with his probity and disinterestedness. The constant practice of fo many virtues, was not confined to the Roman camp. Caius used the same humanity towards all the subjects of the republic, that had de-The citizen and counpendance upon his office. tryman, as well as the foldier, thought themselves equally happy in a man of his integrity. His reputation quickly passed the seas; and Micipsa king of Numidia, and fon of Massinissa, having sent a present of corn for the army in Sardinia, the ambaffadors, which that prince then had at Rome, declared in full Senate, that the King, their mafter, performed

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performed this act of generofity only out of respect to Caius Gracchus, whose virtue he revered. This declaration awakened the jealousy and hatred of the great; virtues too bright, were odious and dangerous to them; and to lessen in some degree the Questor's glory, and render him contemptible, they drove those ambastadors with shame out of the Senate, as Barbarians, who by this preference had

been wanting in respect to their body.

A treatment fo unworthy, and which feemed to violate the law of nations, was foon heard of in Sardinia. Caius could not help feeling a quick refentment of this mark of the implacable hatred of the great. He then thought his return to Rome necessary, for the support of his credit, and to repel an insult made so directly upon himself, and visibly with design to render him contemptible to the people, and among the nations abroad. He set out abruptly, and appeared in the Forum, when he was thought to be in Sardinia. The enemies of his family, who watched all his steps, urged it as a crime against him, that he was returned before his general. He was cited before the Censors, where he quickly overthrew this accusation.

He made appear that he had ftayed three years with his general, though a Quæstor was allowed to return to Rome at the end of a year, and that thus he had served two more than was prescribed by the laws. He added, that he was come back from Sardinia without wealth; whereas, all that had preceded him in the same employment, had enriched themselves in it, and had brought home not only their purses filled with gold and silver, but had likewise stowed it into the pots and vessels, which, when they went over into that island, had served them for the carriage of wine. We may easily imagine, that with such reasons he was readily acquitted. His enemies, who sought nothing but to keep him from the dignities, to which the favour

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of the people, in all probability, would speedily raife him, charged him with a new accufation. They endeavoured to throw upon him the fuspicion of a tumult that had happened at Fregiliæ, a city dependant upon the republic, which the Prætor Opimius, a fevere cruel man, had allayed by the entire ruin of that city, and the death of the principal inhabitants. That Senator, a declared enemy to the memory of Tiberius, in the account which he gave in full Senate of his own conduct in that affair, forgot nothing which might infinuate a belief that Caius was the fecret mover of that fedition, He added, that he had discovered a private correspondence between him and the chief men of the city; that it was not probable they should form fuch a project as withdrawing themselves from their fubjection to the Senate, had they not received private affurances of the protection of the people; and that if their disobedience had met with success, it had perhaps been nothing but a fignal to a gene. ral revolt against the sovereignty of the republic. But all that this paffionate Senator advanced against Caius being without proofs, his ill defigns had no effect; and the young Gracehus thought he had no better way to revenge himself on his enemies, than by boldly demanding the office of Tribune of the This was attacking the Senate in their most tender part. At the bare name of Gracchus, the grandees, and especially those of them whose estates were in danger by the revival of the Agrarian laws, burnt with fury. They made a ftrong conspiracy to keep him out of the Tribuneship. But the whole people declared in his favour; and fo great a number of Plebeians flocked even out of the country to give him their voices, that the Forum not being able to contain fuch a vast multitude, many got up to the tops of houses; from whence with loud cries and acclamations, mixed with praises, they demanded Caius for their Tribune; and as in

this election, the voices were reckoned by tale, the people, more numerous than the nobility, carried it by a vast majority, and obtained Caius for one of their Tribunes. He no sooner saw himfels invested with a dignity which gave him a power almost without bounds, but he built upon his brother's plan designs yet

more daring, and carried them on even with more warmth than he had done. The same spirit, and the same views, appeared in both the brothers, tho under different characters. Tiberius, as we said before, concealed an unmoveable simmes under a seeming moderation. His eloquence was soft and infinuating; he endeavoured to please, in order to persuade; he sought to move the hearts of his auditors; and when he stripped Octavius of the Tribuneship, it seemed as if he was as much touched with the disgrace as himself, and that nothing but the love of justice, and the interest of the people, could have induced him to undertake so melancholy an office, as that of making his colleague unhappy.

Caius showed himself more undisguised: full as eloquent, but sharper in his expressions, and more vehement than his brother. His speech was adorned with all the pathetic sigures; he even mingled invectives with his proofs and arguments; his zeal for the interest of the people, became rage against the Senate. Nothing but thunder and lightning, if we may use so bold an expression, issued out of his mouth, and he struck terror into the very souls of his hearers. For the rest, the sirmness of these two brothers, their love of justice, their integrity, their temperance, their contempt of pleasure, and their inviolable adherence to the interests of the people, were qualities which they possessed in an

equal degree.

It was only observed, that Caius had showed more inclination to revenge; a fault to which those Pa-Vol. II.

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gans had given the name of a virtue, and which they looked upon to be a greatness of foul. As his office engaged him to fpeak frequently to the people, whatever subject he was upon, he always introduced the inhuman manner in which the Senate had murdered his brother. "What did it avail Tiberins, " (faid he,) to have been born a Roman, and in the " bosom of a republic, whose laws all forbid the " putting to death any citizen before he is con-" victed of the crimes laid to his charge? the Se-" nate, the Patricians, the great and the rich, have " affaffinated with clubs, not a private citizen, but " a Tribune of the people, a public magistrate, and " a facred person. Their fury did not stop at de-" priving him of life; even after death, they con-" tinued to execute their rage upon his corpfe; " they dragged him bafely through the streets, and " carried their inhumanity to fuch a height, as to " throw him into the Tyber, in order to deprive " him of the honours of burial." By fuch difcourfes, equally warm and moving, he raifed the compassion of the people, at the same time that he ftirrid up their hatred and indignation against the Senate and the great. After having fow'd in the minds of men these seeds of resentment and divifion, he began to profecute his revenge by the propofal of two new edicts. The first declared that magistrate to be infamous, who shou'd be deposed by the judgment of the people. This law plainly regarded Octavius, the Tribune, whom Tiberius had removed. But Plutarch informs us, that Caius, at the request of his mother Cornelia, to whom Octavius was fomewhat allied, did not infift upon the promulgation of this edict.

By the fecond law, which he went through with, it was ordained, that any magistrate that shou'd have banished a Roman citizen, without observing the formalities prescribed by the laws, shou'd be ac-

countable to the assembly of the people †. This fecond edict was proposed only to destroy Popilius, who, during his prætorship, had banished the friends and adherents of Tiberius. Popilius did not stay for his trial; but knowing that Caius disposed, as he pleased, of the suffrages of the multitude, and that so his opponent and enemy wou'd be his judge, he voluntarily banished himself from his country,

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Caius finding, by this trial of his credit, that it was in his power to do any thing, formed defigns of greater consequence, the chief aim of which was to convey the whole authority of the government from the Senate into the affembly of the people. It was upon this scheme that he made a new edict, to give the title and privilege of Roman citizens to all the inhabitants of Latium; and he afterwards made the fame law extend quite to the Alps. at the same time proposed, that the colonies which fhould be peopled by Latins, fhou'd have the same privileges, as the colonics of the Romans; and that those who had not the right of suffrage in the election of magistrates, might however give their votes when any new law was under confideration. By thefe proposals he increased the number of the peoples voices; and these new citizens, who owed that great privilege to him, were entirely at his devotion, and followed his orders as his clients and creatures.

Caius, to make himself more and more agreeable to the multitude, fixed the price of grain at a very moderate rate for their relief. Some historians even say, that during his Tribuneship, he caused a free distribution of corn to be made out of the public granaries. The people, who are always governed by those that and means to procure them plenty, were never weary of praising a magistrate, whose

[†] Cic. in Cluentiana. Rabiriana, deperduellione. Item pro domo fua.

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thoughts feemed wholly employed for their subsistence. But these actions appeared dangerous to the Senate, who looked upon all these innovations to be nothing but so many indirect methods to undermine their authority; and what filled up the measure of their hatred against the Tribune, was the change he introduced in the tribunals where justice

was difpenfed to private perfons.

These tribunals had hitherto been filled by perfons chosen out of the body of the Senate, and this great privilege kept the knights and people in that respect, which they always have for the arbiters of their estates and fortunes. Cains, after the example of his brother Tiberius, resolved to Arip the Senate of this part of its authority; and, to effect his purpose, he made it appear, that Aurelius Cotta, and Manlius Aquilius, the chief of the Senate, who had been convicted of feveral extortions by most clear and undeniable proofs, had yet escaped the rigor of the laws, through the corruption of their judges. From whence he afterwards took occasion to represent to the people, that they must never expect to obtain justice in tribunals where the criminals themselves, or at least their relations and accomplices, fat as judges; and concluded with demanding that the administration of justice in private fuits, should be transferred to the knights; or at least, that three hundred of the most considerable should be chosen out of that order, to be affistant to the Senate with equality of voices, and power in determining all affairs.

The people received this proposal with the applauses which they gave to every thing that came from the Tribune; and the Senate, confounded at the shameful collusion of the judges in the affair of Cotto and Aquilius, knew not how to oppose this law. It passed unanimously; and the people, whose number made them more powerful than the Senate, and who idolized Caius, referred to him alone the choice

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choice of those three hundred knights that were to be admitted into the magistracies of the city; he named none but his own friends and creatures. By these several changes which he introduced into the government, he made himself equally absolute in Rome, and all Italy. Yet it must be confessed, that he employed this authority, so odious to the Senate, and fo justly suspicious in a commonwealth, only for the glory of his country, and the fervice of his fellow-citizens. Nay, he sometimes hindered other magistrates from carrying their regard to the people too far: and Fabius, the Pro-prætor of Spain, having extorted from the cities under his government, corn which they were not bound to furnish, and then fent it to Rome, to make his court to the meaner fort of people; Caius, who cou'd not bear either injustice or violence in the government, got the people themselves to adjudge that corn to be sold, and the produce to be returned to the cities and communities which had been wronged of it. same decree added, that the Pro-prætor should undergo a fevere reproof, for having by fuch oppreftions exposed the republic to the complaints of her fubjects and allies.

This decree, which was owing folely to him, gave his friends an opportunity of extolling his love for justice. But his enemies, on the contrary, gave out, that they could see nothing in this behaviour but what was an effect of his jealousy, and that he was too artful to allow any other magistrate, besides himself, to win upon the affections of the people, and to share their favour and gratitude with himself.

Caius, without giving any heed to these calumnies, sought only to maintain the alterations he had introduced by new regulations, which he had still the art to cloath with the appearance of the public good. He proposed the building public granaries, there to keep a sufficient quantity of grain to pre-

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vent scarcity in barren years +. The proposal being agreed to, he took the execution of it upon himfelf, as he generally did of all the defigns which he offered. He himself pushed on the work, and took care to have it done with a magnificence worthy of the Romans. Every thing passed at it were through his own hands; he would know every thing himfelf. And under pretence of watching to fee that nothing was done contrary to the interest of the people, he affumed to himself the whole authority of the government. He was eternally crowded with ambaffadors, magistrates, foldiers, men of letters, artificers, workmen, without ever being in the least perplexed by the number or diversity of his affairs. Every body admired his activity; and his enemies themselves could not disown the greatness and clearness of his capacity.

But these very talents, and above all the use he made of them in favour of the people, were what rendered him more and more odious to the Senate and grandees of Rome, and they impatiently longed for the end of his Tribuneship and authority. The Comitia at length came; the affembly was held for the election of Tribunes for the following year. Caius did not make the least interest to be chosen; tear of but the people, who hoped to obtain new privileges by his means, named him Tribune a second time; and it was observed, that he was the first citizen that ever attained to that dignity, without canvassing for it.

The Senate could not, without the most violent uneasiness, behold the continuation of a magistrate, who, by little and little, was stealing away all their authority. Various councils were held; the hotter fort were immediately for taking him off, and using him as they had done his brother. But the fear of raising a sedition, made them take

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another method, which may be looked upon as one of the finest strokes of policy that ever was practifed. They refolved, before they proceeded to violence, or undertook his destruction by open force, that they would endeavour to diminish and weaken the affections the people bore him. For this purpose, the best heads in the Senate applied themselves to Livius Drusus, his colleague. He was a man whose meaning was always honest; of a capacity just, but not very great; one that, without fiding with either party, would have been glad to have reconciled their contrary interests, and to have united the two factions. But a design of such difficulty, wherein mens private regards fwayed them more than the public good, was above his ability or credit. The Senators that addressed themselves to him, attacked him on his weak fide, and flattered his vanity with the glory of giving peace to the republic. Drufus joyfully offered his aflitance, " You are not defired, (faid those crafty Senators), " to declare against the interests of the people, " who have chosen you for one of their magi-" strates; nor even, like Octavius, to oppose the " novelties which Caius daily introduces. The " Senate has formed a nobler defign, and requires " your affiftance, and the intervention of the best " Tribune that the commonwealth ever had, only " to restore peace and union among the several or-" ders of the state. Propose, if you think sit, " laws still more advantageous to the people, if " fuch can be, than those of Caius; the Senate " will approve every thing: the only favour they " expect of you, is to declare publicly, that the " laws and edicts which you offer were fuggested " to you by the Senate; and to add, that they have " no view but the good and prosperity of their " fellow-citizens."

This dextrous turn had all the fuccess that they could wish. Drusus, who saw nothing in this defign, contrary either to his own interest, or to that

of the people, came into all the measures that they put him upon. If Caius proposed to fend two colonies into two cities, dependant upon the republic, Drusus, to gratify a greater number of poor families, was for repeopling twelve, and for fending into each of these cities three thousand of the poorer citizens. Caius having adjudged fome uncultivated lands to Plebeians, and having charged those lands with certain rents and fervices, Drusus, refining, as it were, upon his art of flattering the people, gave to some poor families the same quantity of the like lands, free and clear of all deductions. Laftly, Caius having, as we have faid before, procured to the Latins the right of fuffrage in elections, Drufus, by a new decree, ordained, that those people being now made citizens of the republic, it should be no longer lawful for a Roman captain to cause a soldier of that nation to be beaten with rods. Drufus, upon every propofal, never failed to declare, as he was engaged to do, that he was only the mouth of the Senate, who had charged him to make his report thereof to the This conduct foftened the minds of the affembly. people; the Senate was not fo much hated as formerly; the two parties feemed to be drawing to an union; Drusus pleased the multitude by the merit of novelty, and shared the power of Caius. This was the intention of the Senate. Cajus could not, without a fecret concern, perceive that this rival was getting from him part of the favour of the people. He called him the flave of the Senate. This jealoufy of his displeased the best among the Plebeians; and his behaviour, in relation to Scipio Æmilius, his brother-in-law, made them doubt, whether his virtue was fo pure as it had hitherto been thought.

We have already faid, that his mother Cornelia was daughter to Scipio Africanus, or the first Scipio; and that the fecond-Scipio, the fon of Paulus Amilius,

Emilius, but adopted into that Patrician family, had married Sempronia, the fifter of the two Gracchi. But notwithstanding this double alliance, the difference and emulation of the two parties, and the animosity between the Patricians and Plebeians, upon account of the division of the lands, had always prevented a true union between those two families. The Scipios, upon more than one occasion, had declared themselves the enemies of the Sempronian family; the Gracchi ever complained, that the young Scipio did not give his wife Sempronia good usage, upon pretence of her sterility; and in general, all the Scipios that had opposed Tiberius's law, were suspected of having a hand in the death of that Tribune.

This perpetual quarrel in the republic, which, as we have feen, revived from age to age, and paffed from father to fon, broke out with more animosity than ever, after the death of the elder Gracchus. Caius always kept close to the plans and designs of his brother; and not satisfied with having taken from the Senate its tribunals and authority, he undertook to strip the chief families of Rome of those conquered lands, which it is true they had most of them usurped, but which they justified by a possession almost as ancient as the foundation and establishment of the commonwealth itself.

Caius thought he owed this great facrifice to the manes of his brother, and that it concerned his honour to push the execution of laws, which to obtain had cost him his life.

He affociated in his defign Fulvius Flaccus, a confular person, but a man of no probity and base manners, and whose friendship and correspondence did prejudice to his reputation. And Papirius Carbo, Tribune of the people, a bold seditious man, offered his assistance, in hopes to make himself considerable by his public adherence to the party of Caius.

Caius. The Tribune got them named with himself for Triumvirs in the partition of the lands. The commission could not be given to persons of a more active enterprising temper; all three declared enemies to the Senate and extravagant flatterers of the

very basest of the people.

These Triumvirs no sooner saw themselves authorized by a public decree, but they cited, by found of trumpet, all the detainers of those lands, to bring their titles to their tribunal, with an exact account of what they possessed, to enable them to judge those who came into the case of the Lex licinia, and that enjoyed above five hundred acres. There was hardly any of the great but who poffeffed a larger quantity; nay, and most of them were engaged in law-fuits about the bounds of their usurpations. These men being grown more powerful than is convenient in a commonwealth, armed publicly, and put foldiers upon their lands to defend their possession; and those who were not quite so audacious, implored the protection of the young Scipio, the greatest man of his time. But, as much as he was respected by his countrymen, he durst not venture to fet himfelf against the people, or attack directly the laws of the Gracchi, his brother-inlaw. He took a more artful way to elude the execution of them: he represented, with a great deal of cunning, in an affembly, That the Triumvirs had been named, only to examine. Whether there were any citizens that, contrary to the laws, possessed above five hundred acres of land; to distribute what exceeded that quantity among poor citizens; and that their commission and power were confined to those two articles. He added, that before they proceeded to this inquisition, it was necessary to know the fixed and certain bounds of every man's inheritance. But the proprietors, having various pretensions upon the bounds of each other, the cognizance and judgment of those pretensions exceeded the power of the Triumvirs, and required other judges, or at least a more extensive commission.

The proposal passed by plurality of voices. Scipio had the address and interest to get this part of the commission out of the hands of the Triumvirs *. and to procure it for Tuditanus, who was then Conful, and who, under a feeming indifference for either party, concealed an entire devotion to the Senate, and the interests of the great. That magistrate, to impose upon the people, laboured for some time with a great deal of application, in examining every man's pretenfions, and regulating the mutual bounds of their inheritances. The Triumvirs with pleafure faw him proceed in his work. hoping he would foon enable them to execute their commission; but some time afterwards he quitted Rome abruptly, upon advice which he caused to be brought, that his presence was necessary in Illyrium, where the Romans were then making war. His absence left all those law-fuits undecided, and confequently suspended the function of the Triumvirs, who could never forgive Scipio his having overthrown their defigns, and vacated their com-They reproached him in the affemblies. that though he owed his whole glory to the Roman people, and had received two Confulates fucceffively, contrary to all laws, by their means, when the Senate and grandees opposed him; yet now, in fayour of these imperious men, he was not ashamed to stand up against the establishment of the Agrarian laws, fo necessary for the sublistence of the poor people, and fealed with the blood of Tiberius.

And hereupon Carbo, that audacious Tribune, mentioned above, called upon him in a full affembly to declare what he thought of the manner in which Tiberius had been flain; meaning by this enfaring question to bring him under a necessity of

[·] App. Alex. de Bell. Civ. l. r.

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returning fuch an answer, as must make him odious

either to the people or to the Senate.

But Scipio, without being at all at a loss, boldly replied, That if Tiberius had indeed a defign to make himself the tyrant of his country, he thought his death but just. The whole body of the people, who adored his memory, showing their indignation by great outcries: "To what purpose is all this " noife, (fays Scipio, with that air of greatness " which was fo natural to him), do you think " your clamours will terrify a general, whom the " noise of so many armies of enemies could never " daunt?" Caius did not at all concern himself in this dispute: he kept a fullen filence: but Fulvius Flaccus, a man of a hot violent temper, gave Scipio a great many threats; and next morning that illustrious Roman was found dead in his bed, with marks about his neck, of the violence which had been used upon him,

Nobody knew whom to charge with fo great a crime. The first suspicions fell upon Flaccus, who the day before had threatned him with the resentment of the people. Others imagined, that so daring an act must proceed from some nearer hand. They laid it to Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi; and reported, that her daughter Sempronia herself, the wife of Scipio, to get rid of the enemy of her family, and of a husband that despised her, had in the night conveyed the murderers into his

chamber.

The people, for fear Caius might be found an accomplice in the crime, would not fuffer any fearch to be made into it. He himself stirred not in the least to discover the criminals; and that magistrate, so remarkable for his severity, he that affected the title of desender of the laws, and the avowed soe to any that made the least attempt upon the public liberty, did now, in the affassination of so great a man, preserve a scandalous silence, which justly made

made it be fuspected, that either he or his friends did not think themselves sufficiently innocent to en-

dure too firict an enquiry.

This filence in Caius, which was yet more criminal than the murder itself, occasioned the public complaints of all the nobility; and made the best men even among the people entertain violent fufpicions against his virtue.. To remove the memory of fo black a crime, and employ men's thoughts, Caius made use of his colleague Q. Rubrius, whom he put upon proposing new defigns. That Tribune advised the people to rebuild Carthage, which Scipio had destroyed, and to send a strong colony thither. Caius backed this propofal with all his might, and omitted nothing in the affemblies that could bring the people into this enterprise: he cried up the fertility of the foil, the neighbourhood of the sea, the safety and conveniency of its port. And as he imagined in the prefent state of things, his absence from Rome, and that of Fulvius Flaccus, would not be unferviceable in destroying those reports, fo injurious to his glory, he follicited and obtained the conduct of this expedition, which was intrusted to him by a public decree, conjointly with Flaccus, suspected, like himself, of Scipio's death *.

They carried over into Africa fix thousand Roman families, which they put into the possession of Carthage, and its territory. But while he was busied in restoring the walls, or to speak more truly, in demolishing Scipio's trophies, Drusus, who acted only by the impression of the Senate's counsels, took advantage of his absence, to make Flaccus more odious. He revived all the circumstances that could make him suspected of Scipio's murder. This was an indirect attack upon Caius himself, who had such strict ties with that Senator. Drusus, in all his discourses, represented him as a man of a

Vel. Paterc. 1. 1. Plut. in Gracchis. App. de Bel. Civ. 1. 1. Vol. II. L violent

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violent and feditious temper, and that fought his own promotion in nothing but the troubles of the state. He was even accused of having endeavoured to induce the nations of Italy to a revolt. was a talk of profecuting him for thefe crimes. The credit and esteem of Caius, his protector, decreased in his absence: the people began to forget him, and placed their whole confidence in Drufus, whose reputation was clear, and his conduct moderate. " Caius, judging of the diminution of his credit, by the danger of his friend, haftened to Rome, to revive his faction. Upon his arrival, he left his house, which was on Mount Palatine, and chose a lodging near the market, in a part of the city inhabited by an infinite number of the poorest people. He then proposed new laws, which all tended to the weakening of the Senate's authority. He was to get them received in the next affembly; but as he was doubtful of the fuccess, and his party seemed neither so numerous, nor fo full of warmth as he used to find them, he fent for to Rome great numbers of those people of Italy, for whom he had procured the right of futtrage.

The Senate, very much disturbed at this crowd of strangers, which filled the city, and who seemed to come thither to dispose of the government as they pleased, made use of the authority of the Conful Fannius, to order all that were not inhabitants of Rome, to depart the city forthwith. Caius, that the people might not perceive the diminution of his credit, though fince his return from Africa he found himself much less regarded, published a decree directly to the contrary effect: he encouraged those strangers to remain in the city, and promised them the affistance of the laws, and the protection

of the people, against the Conful's order.

Nevertheless, he afterwards saw Fannius's Lictors drag to prison one of those strangers, his friend, and his guest, whom they seized on purpose to affront

front him. He looked upon his difgrace, and the ill treatment they gave him, without opposing it; either that he feared to raise a civil war, or that finding his power decayed, since the murder of Scipio, he was unwilling to let the weakness of his party become public. And he had the mortification to see himself abandoned by the very heads of it, upon occasion of a dispute which he had with the other Tribunes, his colleagues, who, before this difference, were always very firm in his interests.

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The grandees of Rome had caused scaffolds to be built in the Forum, for their more convenient feeing the public spectacles, and a combat of gladiators that was to be fought there; and the workmen had built a great number befides, upon their own account, which they had let out to rich families. Caius paffing through the Forum, and feeing it clogged up with all those scaffolds, ordered them to be taken down, that the people might have more room, and fee the sports freecost. The grandees had recourse to the authority of his colleagues, who, out of complaifance to the chief families in Rome, ordered that the scaffolds should stand: nay, it is not very certain whether those magistrates of the people had not fecretly a share in the profit of those scaffolds that were let out. Caius, who could not bear any opposition in what he thought just, took along with him that multitude of workmen that were at his devotion; and the night before the games, hereaufed all those scattolds to be demolished, and the materials to be carried away; fo that the place was free for next day. The people admired his resolution and courage; but his colleagues being vexed that he should carry every thing thus with a high hand, and jealous of the fway he had obtained in Rome, quite broke off from his interefts: they privately joined in with his enemies to exclude him from the Tribuneship. And in the following Comitia, where Caius should have been L 2 elected

elected Tribune for the third time, the people having given him the greater number of voices, those Tribunes, who by their office were to count the votes, to be revenged of him, were fuspected to have suppressed part of the billets, and made a false report of the scrutiny; and by this fraud Caius was

thut out from the Tribuneship.

The Senate no fooner faw him brought back to a private condition, but they refolved to abolish all his laws, and gave the care of it to the Consul Opimius, the man that during his Prætorship endeavoured to involve Caius in the sedition of Frigellæ. This Consul, as we have already said, was a declared enemy to the Gracchi; a man of a haughty temper, proud of his birth and dignity, despising the people, and who, without concerning himself about the formalities of the laws, seemed resolved to put an end to this great difference, by the death of Caius.

He began with abrogating the decree that ordained the reftoration of Carthage, and convened a general affembly to suppress all the other laws; and that he might be strong enough to support his party, he brought into the city a body of Candiot troops, that were in the pay of the commonwealth.

These he used as a guard: he went no where without being attended with these foreign soldiers, and surrounded by all those grandees of Rome, whose interest it was to suppress the laws of the Gracchi. These were themselves constantly attended with a crowd of servants and clients, whom custom

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kept in their train and obedience.

The conful, thus guarded, publickly infulted Caius where-ever he met him: he affronted him with opprobrious language, to produce a quarrel, and so get an occasion of falling upon him, and killing him. Caius, more moderate, or finding that he was not the stronger, over-look'd these outrages. But Flacus, less patient, and enraged at the insolence of the great,

great, made it so plain to him that he was losing the whole glory of his two Tribuneships, by a moderation, which his enemies looked upon to be nothing but cowardice, that he at length resolved to

oppose force with force.

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He called about him the most zeakous Plebeians, and at the same time brought into the city a great number of Latins, and other inhabitants of Italy, disguised like reapers, who came as men wanting work and employment. All Rome was divided between these two parties. That of Caius seemed the stronger, because it was the more numerous, and that he governed the people as he pleased: but in the other was seen the chief magistrate, a legal authority, and even more conduct, and designs better concerted.

At length, the day being come which was to deeide whether the laws of the Gracchi should subsist or be abolished, the two factions repaired very early in the morning to the Capitol. The conful, according to ancient use, began with facrificing to the Gods. It is faid, that one of his lictors named Quintus Attilius, having taken upon him to represent to Caius the misfortunes he must occasion to his country, if he still continued obstinate in maintaining the law which he had contrived, and that Caius having thown, by a gesture of displeasure and contempt, that he did not care to be documented by fo mean an officer, the lictor was killed upon the spot by fome Plebeians. Other historians relate this fact after a different manner. They tell us, that this lictor was the cause of his own death, by his infolence; and that as he was carrying the entrails of the victim which the conful had facrific'd, he cried out aloud to Flaccus and those of his party, " Make " way there, evil citizens as you are." They add, that to these injurious words, he joined an action of the hand dishonest and contemptuous; and that these latter, to punish him for this infult, stabbed L 3 him

him with the pins of their table-books, and flew

him upon the fpot.

The people feemed not to approve this hafty action; and Caius, who foreign the confequences, was yet more concerned. He upbraided his adherents, that they had now given their enemies the pretence they had so long wanted for shedding of blood.

Accordingly the Senate immediately affembled, and decreed, upon the death of an ordinary lictor, as upon the greatest calamity of the republic, "That "the Consuls should take care the state suffered no prejudice." By this extraordinary decree the consuls received from the Senate the most extensive authority. They had power from this to raise as many troops as they thought proper; to use any means whatsoever for the quelling of rebellious citizens; to declare war against the enemy; in a word, they were invested with absolute power, both in the

city, and in the army.

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Opimius, by virtue of this decree, commanded all the Senators and Knights to take arms, and to appear next day in the Forum, with each at least two flaves armed. Flaccus, on his fide, endeavoured to make the people take arms: but he met with nothing but a general confernation in every man's mind, and an univerfal dejection. Caius, as he went home, stopped in the Forum at a statue of his father which had been raifed there; and looking at it mournfully, without uttering a word, the tears were feen to run down from his eyes, as forefeeing with grief, the blood that must be spilt in his quarrel the next day. Those that accompanied him, moved with compassion, urged one to another, that they should be the basest of wretches to abandon so great a man, who was in danger only for their fakes. Most of them spent the night at his door, rather to shew their zeal and affection, than in hopes of being of much fervice to him. L. Flaccus employed that time in gathering together their friends, and

the chief of the people. He got a pretty considerable number to take arms, and day no sqoner appeared, but he took possession of Mount Aventine.

Caius, at the fame time, made ready to follow him; but would not arm himfelf, not for want of courage, but to avoid coming to extremities with his fellow-citizens. He put on nothing but his ordinary gown, and only took under it a short sword to defend himfelf, if he were attacked. As he was just going out of his house, his wife, all in tears, ran to ftop him. " Where goeft thou, Caius? (fays " she), embracing him tenderly; what is thy defign? " and why dost thou leave thy house so early? " can'st thou be ignorant that the murderers who " flew thy brother, are preparing the same fate " for thee; and that thou hast no defenders but a " vile rabble, who will basely leave thee at the fight " of the least danger? consider that Rome is no " longer what she was: virtue is banished from " within her walls; every thing here is decided by " violence. And what confidence can'ft thou place " in the authority of the laws, or even in the ju-" flice of the Gods, those Gods that, either thro' " blindness or impotence, could suffer Tiberius to " perifh ?"

Caius, pierced to the heart with grief, and not having strength to answer her, tore himself from her arms, and went to join Flaccus, who had put himself at the head of their party. Here he found nothing but a multitude of people, without order, and with more fury than strength. The Senate, on the contrary, and the whole body of the nobility, attended by their clients and domestics, formed a very powerful party. Caius perceiving he was in no condition to withstand them, prevailed upon Flaccus, that a deputy should be sent to the Conful, to desire peace; and to conjure him to spare the blood of his fellow-citizens. They gave this commission to the youngest of Flaccus's sons,

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who presented himself before the Consul with a caduceus in his hand, and proposed a reconciliation

between the two parties.

Many Senators of good intentions, were for accepting of this propofal, and for coming to a conference with the heads of the party of the people. But Opimius, making an estimate of his weakness by his fubmission, gave answer to the son of Flaccus, That there was no other reconciliation to be hoped for, but that those who were in the fault should yield themselves to the judgment of the Senate, and the rigour of the laws. At the fame time, he fent back the child with a prohibition, enforced with the most grievous threats, never to appear again before him, unless his father and his adherents submitted to whatsoever the Senate should please to decree concerning them. Besides this, he fet a price upon Caius's head, which was its weight in gold, to any one that should bring it in; and to weaken and divide his party, he profcribed by found of trumpet all that fided with him, with promife however of pardon to those who should leave him immediately.

This proscription had all the effect which the Consul could hope from it. Most of the common people that had followed Flaccus by the encouragement of one another, grew afraid, slipt away one by one, and deserted their leaders: they had scarce above tour or five thousand men left with them. Caius, not thinking himself strong enough to withstand the adverse party, and, perhaps, to prevent essuin of blood, was for going in person to answer for his conduct to the Senate: but his acherents would not suffer him, fearing to be deprived of their leader; and chose rather to send the young

fon of Flaccus once more to desire peace.

Opimius, without so much as hearing him, caused him to be seized for returning contrary to his prohibition. And without giving the people time to

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think what to do, he marched against them, and charged them with his Candiots, whose arrows foon dispersed the multitude. Then the Senators and knights falling fword in hand upon the rout, flew a great number; it is faid, that there fell three thousand of the people. Flaccus, in this disorder, hid himself in the ruins of an old house; where being found, he was flain with his eldest for. Caius retired into the temple of Diana, where he would have killed himfelf; but Pomponius and Licinius, two of his friends, prevented him, and forced him to endeavour to make his escape. It is faid, that before he left that temple, he befought the goddess, that the Roman people, who had so basely deserted their protectors, might never be freed from their flavery. He then betook himfelf to flight, with his two faithful friends, and a flave, named Philocrates. His enemies purfued him close; but coming to a bridge, Pomponius and Licinius, to affift his flight, flood their ground fword in hand, and for some time stopped the pursuers, who could gain no passage till they had killed the two generous Romans.

Caius had time to get into a little wood, confecrated to the Furies; but finding it was impossible to escape his enemies, who had surrounded the grove, we are told that he caused Philocrates to kill him; and that the faithful slave afterwards slew himself upon his master's body. Others say, that Caius being overtaken by those that pursued him, Philocrates, embracing his master, covered him with his body; and that they could not get at him till they had slain the faithful servant. They cut off Caius's head, and the murderers stuck it on the end of a spear. A certain man, named Septimuleius, a creature of Opimius, stole it from those who carried it thus like a trophy; and having privately taken out the brain, filled it with melted lead, to make it

more heavy, and then delivered it to the Conful

for feventeen pounds and a half of gold.

The body was thrown into the Tyber, with those of Flaccus, and above three thousand citizens that fell in this commotion. The Consul, whose implacable hatred was not yet affuaged with all this blood, threw into prison all the friends and adherents of the Gracchi that he could discover, where they were put to death. Their goods were consistated; their widows were forbid to wear mourning for them. Licinia, the wife of Caius. was even deprived of her dowry; and Opimius, whose rage still pursued the miserable remains of that party, extended his inhumanity even to the poor child that had been sent to him with words of peace, and

caused him to be put to death in prison *.

This cruel magistrate, after having shed so much blood, was not ashamed to build a temple to Concord; as if he had by pacific measures brought his fellow-citizens to a union. The people never faw this temple without horror, and looked upon it as a monument of his pride and cruelty. But Opimius, without being at all concerned at this impotent displeasure, thought of nothing but how to extinguish the very memory of the laws of the Gracchi. It was to this purpose that a Tribune of the people, who, in all probability, was bribed by him, and the other grandees of Rome, represented in an affembly, that he met with unfurmountable difficulties in the account and partition of the lands; but that, to relieve the people, he would take care that every proprietor of fuch lands should pay a certain rent proportionable to the quantity he possessed; and that the money arising from these rents, should be diffributed among the poor citizens, and those especially who enjoyed no share of those public lands. He added, that in confideration of this pay-

[·] App. Alex. de Bello Civ. l. 1.

ment, he was of opinion, that those who possessed fuch lands, should be acknowledged the lawful proprietors of them, with a discharge from all claims for the future *; and that they should be allowed to sell and dispose of those inheritances; but always subject to the rent that should be agreed upon.

The people, feduced with the hopes of this advantage, and deceived by their Tribune, passed this law, which absolutely destroyed that of the Gracchi. The rich citizen, no longer fearing any inquisition, extended, without scruple, the bounds of his domain. They strove now who should first purchase the inheritance of a poor neighbour. All the lands came into the possession of the great; and the meaner fort of people relapsed into the poverty which the two Gracchi had strove to

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In a short time, the rents which were to be paid for their use, were no longer talked of. The rich and the grandees of Rome, suppressed, as it were by agreement among themselves, this mark of the nature and dependance of those lands. Another Tribune, no less false to his party than him we just now mentioned, excused the observation of this part of the law, pretending that the great paid a sufficient tribute to the Republic, by the services they did her in the magistracies with which they were invested. And it was by this chain of artisces, joined to force and violence, that the more powerful at length remained in possession of these public lands, which they had made their prey, and usurped as their own particular conquest.

We shall be the less surprized at this, if we confider, that the Plebeians now no longer found protection in the animosity of the Tribunes against the Patricians and nobles. Those two factions, who were always before kept asunder by the distinction

[·] Idem; App ibid.

of their birth, were now turned into two parties, merely of rich and poor, of whatever order they were born; and the poor citizens, abandoned by the rich Plebeians, who joined in with the Senate, also faw themselves basely betrayed by their own magistrates, who were accomplices in the usurpation of those lands, which the people claimed in vain, There never arose, after the unhappy end of the Gracchi, any Tribune fo impartial or fo generous as to dare publicly to undertake their defence. Avarice, private views, defire of raising themselves by the particular favour of the great, had taken the place of zeal for the public good. Pride and luxury fucceeded to that noble public spirit, and that love of their country, to which Rome owed her greatness and power.

In a corruption almost general, the affair of Jugurtha awakened the people out of the dejection and consternation into which the loss of the Gracchi had thrown them: and they gladly laid hold of this opportunity of revenging themselves upon the conful Opimius, and punishing the fordid ava-

rice of the chief men in the Republic.

Masinissa, the famous African prince, illustrious for his friendship with the first Scipio, and so noted for his inviolable firmness to the party of the Romans, had received from them the kingdom of Numidia, in return for the fervices he had done them against the Carthaginians. At his death he left his kingdom, with the protection of the Romans, to Micipfa, who fucceeded him. This prince had two fons, the eldest named Adherbal, and the younger Hiempfal. He had besides, a nephew named Jugurtha, fon of his brother Manastabal, who died before Masinissa: but that old prince had left him in an obscure condition; and would never own him for his grandfon, because he was not born in lawful marriage.

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fing aspect, took him out of his obscurity, and had him educated with the princes his fons, though he was older than them. Jugurtha, (fays Salust), perfeelly well answered the intentions of the King his uncle, and the instructions of his masters. None of the young noblemen of his age excelled him cither in drawing the bow, managing the horse, or disputing the prize in the race. If he went to hunting, and met with a lion, or any other wild beaft, he immediately preffed to the head of the hunters, to give him the first wound; and when, after having flain him, he received praifes for his boldness, either through pride or modesty, he contemned those kind of victories, as very far beneath (faid he) what ought to be expected from the courage and valour of a prince.

The King of Numidia, at first, rejoiced in the good success of his care; and looked with pleasure upon this young Jugurtha, as the ornament of his court. But it was not long before there was perceived in that prince an inordinate ambition, guided by a genius artful, infinuating, dextrous and deceitful. Micipsa's joy was now turned into fear, especially when he considered his own great age, and the youth of his sons; and he saw, with grief, that he had nourished in his house a secret enemy, and, perhaps, the destroyer of it. To ease himself of these apprehensions, he resolved to send him to the war, in hopes the chance of arms might remove him. He put him at the head of Rome, a body of troops which he sent to Scipio

Amilius, who was then besleging Numantia in Spain.

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But Jugurtha found means to draw feveral advantages from a defign that was laid only to defiroy him. He began with winning and fecuring to his interests, both the soldiers and officers that were under his command, by favours, presents, and above all, by surprizing acts of valour. The Ro-Vol. II.

mans themselves, such good judges of this kind of merit, agreed, that it was impossible for a young prince to have more courage, or indeed more knowledge at those years in the art of war. This general efteem gained him great numbers of friends, among whom he entered into very strict engagements with fuch officers as he thought had most interest in the Senate, and at Rome. The cunning African, who forefaw of how much use the credit of those principal officers might be to him in raifing him to his hopes, forgot no methods to engage them in his interests. He won them by repeated prefents; and those mercenary fouls, to procure themselves more, encouraged him in his ambition. They infinuated to him, that without minding feniority of birth, he ought, after Micipfa's death, to lay open claim to his crown; and that provided he wanted not money, he would never want friends, or powerful protectors in the Senate, where most of the suffrages were little better than venal.

Scipio, informed of these cabals, and angry at their corrupting the mind of the young prince by fuch pernicious maxims, took him afide, and advised him in a friendly manner, never to seek the friendship of the Romans any otherwise than by honourable means, and actions worthy of his courage and birth. He added, to let him fee he was not ignorant of his most private intrigues, That it was always-dangerous to go about to purchase of a few particular perfons, that which belonged to the public: that with fo much valour as he had shown, he could never want crowns; but that if through a too greedy thirst of reigning, he employed unworthy means to attain it, he foretold him, as his friend, that he would lofe the very money which he fpent in corrupting of voices; and that at length he would lofe himfelf. tha, whose flexible and artful mind easily assumed all all manner of shapes, seigned to be touched with these remonstrances. He promised Scipio to improve by them, and, after the end of the campaign, he took his leave of that general, who wrote in his favour to the King of Numidia, that he was very well pleased with his services; and that none could have showed more courage and conduct than he had done, in all the occasions wherein he had

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Jugurtha being returned into Numidia, with the addition of luftre which he received from the glory he had acquired in the army, and from the friendship of the Romans, begins to lay the foundation of his greatness. He makes new friends; he buys himfelf creatures; gains part of the minifters; intimidates the reft; and at length finds ways to have it infinuated to the old king, that he could not do a wifer action, than to adopt him, in order to give his two fons, as it were, a third brother, who would be a guardian to them, and a protestor to the state. The weak old man, whose fenses were enfeebled by his great age, adopts him publicly. He flattered himself, that by so great a favour, he had made fure of him whom he could not destroy. But he was no sooner expired, than Jugurtha made it evident, that policy does not reckon gratitude in the number of the virtues. bition and his own interest made him turn against the family of Micipla, the very power with which he had been invested only for its protection. Numidia was now divided into three principalities: and there reigned in the fame kingdom, and on the fame throne, three fovereigns independent of each other, though all three equally in the dependance, and under the protection of the Romans. Jugurtha, who aspired to be so'e master of Numidia, refolved to rid himfelf of the two young princes. He first lays snares for the younger, whom he cau-M 2 fes

fes to be stabbed in his bed; and this was the first victim that he facrificed to his ambition.

The elder, filled with fear at fo black an action, immediately makes his escape to the province which had fallen to his share; and though he was no warrior, he arms with all expedition, as well to defend himfelf against the attempts of Jugurtha, as to revenge the death of his brother. Jugurtha, on his part, makes levies of troops with equal diligence. The whole nation divides itself; every man chuses his fide in this givil war. The greater number of Numidian noblemen declare for Adherbal; but the best soldiers and chief officers adhere to Jugurtha. It foon comes to a battle; Adherbal is defeated; and most of his troops, after the rout, list themselves under the banners of his enemy. strongest places open their gates to the conqueror. Adherbal, to fave his life, is forced to difguise himfelf; and that prince, after having wandered fome time about his own dominions, like an unhappy exile, at length escapes to the territories of the Republic; from whence he repairs to Rome, to implore the protection of the Senate.

The prefence of this young prince, driven out of his kingdom, and the death of his brother, murdered by the usurper's order, raised a general indignation, as well in the Senate, as among the people. The whole talk at Rome was of the necessity there was of fending an army immediately into Africa, to punish Jugurtha. That prince, who had his emissaries at Rome, and who dreaded the power and refentment of the republic, prefently dispatched ambaffadors to justify his conduct. He loaded them with rich presents, and immense sums of money, with orders to gain him friends; and, as it were, to purchase whoever was to be fold. The Numidian ambassadors were no sooner come to Rome, but they scattered money on all fides: few Senators could refift them; most of the grandees, being fecretly

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cretly gained themselves, gained over others. The corruption became general; those envoys found, in the avarice of the nobility, a certain refuge for their master; and all the deliberations of the Senate terminated in naming ten commissioners, who had orders to repair to Africa, to take cognizance of what had been done there; and, if they thought convenient, to make a new division of Micipla's

empire between Jugurtha and Adherbal.

The head of this commission was Opimius, who had acquired great credit in the Senate, and among the grandees of Rome, fince the death of Caius. and the ruin of his party. He was no fooner arrived in Africa with his colleagues, but Jugurtha, who relied much more upon his money than the juflice of his cause, undertook to secure him by magnificent prefents. That Magistrate, no less avaricious than cruel, fold him his faith and ho nour: his colleagues were not more incorruptible. The bargain being made, Jugurtha was found innocent. Hiempfal was made the aggressor, andhis death reprefented as occasioned by his own. rashness. The division of Micipsa's dominions was afterwards made upon the very plan proposed by Jugurtha himfelf; and the commissioners, to the scandal of the Roman name, allotted him the ftrongest places, and the richest provinces, as a reward for his guilt and corruption.

That ambitious prince, after the departure of the commissioners, having now nothing more to fear from the part of Rome, resolved to invade the dominions of Adherbal by open force. But as it was always necessary to have some little appearance of justice on his side, he at first contented himself with making inroads upon the frontier, in hopes to provoke the resentment of Adherbal, and to draw him by those insults to use reprizals, whence he might have a pretence to push the war with full

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vigour; nay, and to justify it at Rome, if there

was occasion for fo doing.

Adherbal, who knew himself to be his inferior in troops, and even in capacity in the art of war, chose rather to wink at these injuries, than to expose himself to a declared and open war. Jugurtha, after having harrassed his country for some time, without being able to engage him to take up arms, at length despises his weakness; and without seeking any louger for any pretences, he enters his dominions at the head of a powerful army, besieges and takes the principal towns, and makes himself master of most of the provinces.

After this, there was no other choice for Adherbal to make, but either to abandon his kingdom a fecond time; or, notwithstanding all inequality of forces, to resolve to defend it generously sword in hand. That young prince, by the advice of his ministers, determines to repel violence by violence. He assembles his troops, makes new levies, and at length brings an army into the field; but more considerable for its number than courage. He then marches against the enemy, to stop the pro-

grefs of his arms.

Jugurtha, who had laid his defign, fuffers Adherbal to encamp without opposition. He even teigns to be diffident of his own strength, in order to increase his confidence. They spend some days without coming to an engagement; but by the advantage of a very dark night, Jugurtha filently advances to Adherbal's camp, attacks it on all fides; carries the entrenchments; and cuts in pieces all that withstand him. He seeks every where for Adherbal, whom it was his principal defire to destroy, in order to put an end to the war by one blow. But that prince had the happiness in his misfortunes to escape the fury of his enemies. He no fooner beheld his camp forced, but he threw himself into a town called Cirta, the capital of is dominions,

dominions, where he shut himself up with the broken remains of his army, and thence dispatched ambassadors to Rome, to implore a-new the assist-

ance of the republic.

Jugurtha, who fought his death as the chief fruit of his victory, follows him; comes before Cirta with his whole army; invests the place, preffes it close, and fwears he will never depart from before its walls, till he is master both of the town and of Adherbal's person. That unhappy prince, feeing himfelf upon the brink of falling into the hands of a merciless enemy, dispatched messenger after messenger to Rome. 'The Senate, preposlesfed by Jugurtha's favourers, feems to doubt the relation of these ambassadors; and contents itself with fending three young Romans into Africa, to take account of what is doing there; and in case of war, to order the two Numidian princes to lay down their arms. Jugurtha, at their arrival, amuses them first by continual embassies; and then feduces and corrupts them by confiderable bribes, difguifed under the name of presents. His agents, in the audience which they obtained, affirm, that Adherbal had both by open force, and by base and fecret practices, attacked the life of their matter, who had taken up arms only upon the necessity of a just defence. The Roman envoys, satisfied with these reasons, which the Numidian's money had rendered just, returned to Rome, while Jugurtha puthed on the fiege with fresh vigour.

Adherbal, driven to extremity, writes again to the Senate, and conjures the Romans, by the fervices of Masinissa, his grandfather, to save at least his life. "Dispose as you please of the kingdom "of Numidia, (says that weak prince to them in "his letter); but suffer me not to fall into the

" hands of a tyrant, and of the murderer of my family."

The honest part of the Senate, and those who had

had not been corrupted by Jugurtha's money, were of opinion, that they ought not a moment longer to defer fending an army into Africa, to raife the fiege of Cirta, and to punish Jugurtha for not having paid obedience to the Senate's first orders. But his friends, by their endeavours, hindered this advice from being received, upon pretence that fuch an armament would put them to a needlefs: charge. They only proposed to fend new commisfioners to Africa, to decide the difference between the two kings; and this last advice prevailed above the honour and glory of the republic. Æmilius Scaurus was placed at the head of this commission. He was prince of the Senate; that is to fay, the man whom the Cenfor, when he publicly read over the lift of the Senators, named first; which depended upon the choice of that inspector of man-That honourable title was usually never bestowed but upon some old Senator, who had already been honoured with the Confulate or Cenforship, and he enjoyed it as long as he lived.

Scaurus, illustrious in his birth, a great captain, and an able magistrate, but equally ambitious and covetous, had till now concealed those faults under the appearance of the contrary virtues. Tho' avarice was his ruling passion, he had refused the bribes offered him by Jugurtha's agents, because they distributed them too publicly. This cunning behaviour, his age, his dignity, his services, made him the person that was named for the head of this commission. He immediately crossed over into Africa with his colleagues, and landed at Utica; from whence he sent Jugurtha an account of his commission, with the Senate's orders to raise

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the fiege from before Cirta without delay.

Jugurtha leaves his troops at the fiege, and comes to the commissioners. He protests, that nothing is more facred to him than the orders of the Senate; but at the same time represents, that Adherbal had

had endeavoured to destroy him: that he attacked him at the head of an army: that, for his part, he took up arms only to defend his life and dominions: that the Romans were too just to forbid him to do what the law of nature allowed to every man, or to tie his hands when he was attacked by his ene-It was with fuch like allegations, or rather with great fums of money, but privately dispersed, that the faithless African found a way to elude the effect of that commission. Scaurus and his colleagues were not ashamed to return to Rome, without having obtained any thing in the behalf of Adherbal. The Numidian having got clear of the only obstacle that he feared, returns to the siege, pushes it vigorously, and at length reduces Adherbal, rather by famine than by the fword, to put himself into his hands. That unfortunate prince demanded no other condition but the prefervation of his life, and for the rest, referred himself to the judgment of the Senate.

Jugurtha promised any thing. He was received into the place; but as foon as ever he faw it in his. power, he flaughtered the Numidian part of the garrison. He spared only the Italians, probably out of respect to the republic; but as to Adherbal, he put him to death with the most cruel tortures. This new murder being known at Rome, and the scandalous prevarication of the commissioners, raise a general indignation *. The people espe- Year of cially cried loudly in their affemblies, that Rome they had fold to that Barbarian the blood of his brother. The Senate, fearing im- 641. punity might at length provoke the people to a fedition, decreed, notwithstanding all the opposition of Jugurtha's party, that L. Bestia Calpurnius, who was then Conful, should go over to Africa, at the head of an army, to reduce Jugurtha to

[·] Flor. l. 3. c. 1. Orof. L 5. c. 15.

obedience. Calpurnius had valour, and a great deal of experience: but these noble qualities were tarnished by a fordid avarice: he seemed to make war merely as a trade, and only to get money: he looked upon this African expedition as a glorious harvest; and no methods of enriching himself were in his mind shameful.

But as he was not ignorant that he had the Roman people to deal with, and Tribunes who might case day call him to a fevere account for his conduct, he had the precaution to engage Scaurus, and some of the most considerable Senators, in this expedition. He demanded them for his Lieutenants, under pretence that he stood in need of persons so consummate in the art of war; but at the bottom, his only design was to associate them in his extortions, and to shelter himself under their names

and credit against all inquiry.

Nevertheless, it was not without great surprize and uneafiness that Jugurtha heard the news of this armament. He had always flattered himfelf, that Adherbal's murder would cost him nothing but money. He immediately dispatched his son to Rome, as a pledge of his fidelity and fubmission; and fent with him two ambaffadors with part of his treasure, with which they had orders to buy him new protectors. But Jugurtha's crimes had made too much noise, for the Senate to wink at them any longer. In the midft of a corruption fo general, and fuch as we have reprefented it, there fill remained a dignity in what related to public affairs. No body could fo much as take his part openly, without dishonouring himself. Thus with unanimous confent, his fon, and his ambaffadors, were ordered to depart from Italy in ten days, unless they were come to give up the kingdom of Numidia, and the person of Jugurtha himself to the disposal of the republic. This decree was fignified to them, and they were obliged to return, without fo much as having entered the gates of Rome. As

As foon as the levies were ready, Calpurnius ordered them to embark at Rhegium. They croffed from Italy to Sicily, and from Sicily into Africa. The Conful was no fooner arrived there, but he britkly attacked Jugurtha's dominions. His troops foread themselves over the country; they carry fire and fword where-ever they come. He then forms fieges, takes towns, and makes prisoners. maintain his reputation, or perhaps to raife his price with the King of Numidia, he hotly profecutes the war, and disperses the terror of his arms on all fides. The Numidian, dreading the confequences of this war, has recourse to his usual arms. He finds a way to foread great fums to the very tent of the Roman general. Private emissaries strike the bargain: Scaurus enters into this fcandalous negotiation, and shares Jugurtha's money with Calpurnius. To blind the public they make a solemn treaty. The King of Numidia feemingly submits to the orders of the Senate; he delivers up his towns, his horfes, his elephants, and pays great fums of money. He feems to give himself wholly up to the discretion of the Romans: he comes to the camp without guards, or any other mark of his dignity; but he had taken the precaution to have hostages given him for his fafe return. And after the general of the Romans had withdrawn his army out of his dominions, he again entered into possession of all his places *. They fent him back, for money, his very horses and elephants; and by means of this falle peace, he was left to a quiet enjoyment of the fruit of his guilt, and of Adherbal's murder. This new proffitution was heard at Rome with no less shame than forrow. Every body complained, that the majetty of the Roman people was violated. Memnius, Year of one of the Tribunes of the people, hence Rome, took occasion to fall upon the Senate. " Integrity, (fays he, in a full affembly,) is

" quite lost in that order; there is no justice left " among them; money is the tyrant of Rome; " and the people have but too often found, that " the grandees and nobles have no other deity. "They make a public traffic of their faith and " honour. The glory and interests of the Senate " are become articles of commerce. The majesty " of the empire has been betrayed; the Republic " has been fold in the army, and in Rome itself. " Opimius, the murderer of Caius, the butcher of " three thousand of his fellow-citizens, that tyrant " of his country, while his hands were yet foiled " with the blood of the people, and of their Tri-" bunes, has filled them with the gold and filver " of the perfidious Jugurtha. Calpurnius and " Scaures are perhaps not more innocent. " are told, that the Numidian has yielded himfelf " up to the Republic; that he has delivered up his " places, his troops and his elephants. Convince " us of the truth of this affertion; make Jugur-" tha come to Rome. If it be true that he has " fubmitted indeed, he will obey your orders; and " if he does not obey them, you may eafily judge " that what they call a treaty, is nothing but a " collusion between that crafty prince and our " generals; a treaty that has produced nothing " but impunity of his crimes to him, fcandalous " riches to those who were intrusted with the " Senate's commission, and an eternal dishonour " to the Republic."

This discourse stirs up the public animosity to the highest degree. Opimius is summoned before the assembly of the people. He undergoes his trial, and is banished from Rome by a solemn decree. The memory of his cruelties, says Velleius Paterculus, was so strong, that not one Plebeian had compassion on his missfortune; and he was obliged, adds Plutarch, to pass his old age in the dishonour and

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fhame which he had drawn upon himself by his

avarice and corruption.

Cassius, who was then prætor, by virtue of the same decree of the people, went over to Africa, to bring Jugurtha to Rome. He gave him for his safeguard the public saith. But that prince placed more considence in his money; and he was no sooner arrived, but he gained by rich presents a Tribune of the poeple named Bæbius: he then presented himself before the assembly. Memmius reproached him with his ingratitude to the samily of Miscipsa; his excessive ambition; his cruelty; the murder of his two adopted brothers; his disobedience to the orders of the Senate, and his private intelligence with those who carried them; which was yet more criminal and more odious to the republic.

The Tribune added, That though the people were not unacquainted with the names of his accomplices, and the prices of their profitution, yet they would be informed of them from his own mouth: that he might hope for all favour from the faith and clemency of the Romans, if he spoke truth; but that if he concealed or disguised it, he ruined himfelf irrecoverably: and hereupon he calls upon him to answer article by article, to the several heads of the accusation, which he had not prepared so much against him, as against the Senators, and the deputies from the Senate, who had suffered themselves to be corrupted by his money.

But Bæbius interposing to the affistance of Jugurtha, without alledging any reason, forbad him to make answer. Every body is surprized at the impudence of the Tribune. Nevertheless he obstinately persists in his opposition, and the people, betrayed by one of their own magistrates, are forced to break up the assembly, without having received the least information. Justly provoked at this collusion, and at Bæbius's opposition, they look upon it as the effect of fresh bribery, and talk of no less

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than seizing the king of Numidia, and of giving his crown to another grandson of Massinissa, who, fearing Jugurtha's cruelty, had upon Adherbal's death

taken refuge at Rome.

Jugurtha, at these reports, finds out russians that ease him of his rival. But one of the murderers being taken, the treacherous African, convicted of so foul a crime by the depositions of that villain, and perhaps not having money enough left to be innocent, receives the Senate's orders to depart immediately from Rome. He sets out directly, probably for fear of being stopped. It is said, that being come out of the gates of Rome, he looked back upon them, and cried out; "O mercenary city, "thou wouldest quickly be enslaved, if a merchant were found but rich enough to buy thee!"

As this prince came to Rome upon the public faith, he was suffered to return quietly into his do-Year of minions. But he was foon followed by the conful Albinus, who had orders to make Rome, vigorous war upon him, unless he delivered 643. his person and kingdom up to the disposal of the Roman people. Albinus being arrived in Africa, began to profecute the war with good fuccess; and he would gladly have finished it before the expiration of his confulate. Jugurtha, on the contrary, whose only hope was in the change of generals, and who expected every thing from the advantage of time, thought of nothing but how to amuse the Consul, and to draw things out into length. At one time he wou'd promise to deliver himself; at another, he would declare that he would fooner quit his life than his crown. Now he would fly before the Romans, and presently afterwards come and attack them in their very camp. He then would fend meffengers and envoys to propose treaties: every day brought forth fome new propofal. The Conful, perplexed in this abyss of negotiations, in which he could fee no bottom, could not be faid

to make either war or peace. And the time of the Comitia being come, he was obliged to leave Africa, and to repair to Rome, to prefide in the election of new confuls; and he departed, after having given the command of the army to Aulus, his lieutenant and brother.

This was the greatest advantage Jugurtha could wish for. He had now to deal with a captain without valour or military knowledge, and whose only qualification was being the general's brother. A great presumption blinded him from seeing his own incapacity; and a fordid avarice made him make

as many faults as enterprizes.

In the very depth of winter he drew his troops out of their quarters to beliege Suthul, one of the strongest places in Numidit, where Jugurtha kept part of his treasures. This was the lure that drew him; but the prey was inclosed in a castle, situated upon the brow of a hill, and surrounded by marshes, which the rains and the snows being melted,

had made impracticable.

Aulus, blinded by his avarice, ventures nevertheless to besiege it. Jugurtha, overjoyed to see him employ himself in so difficult an undertaking, caused divers proposals to be made to him, as if he had dreaded the success of his arms. To keep up his presumption, he from time to time sent deputies to him to beg peace, in terms as submissive, as if he had been already master of all Numidia. He neglected not however to advance with his army, as if he meant to endeavour at throwing succours into the place: but he had instructed his officers to affect a countenance full of diffidence.

Aulus, who flattered himself that he had spread terror among the Numidians, marches against them as to a sure victory. Jugurtha, to encourage him in his considence, and continue him in his error, feigns to betake himself to slight. His troops retire in a precipitate manner. The Roman general

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pursues them warmly; and all his fear is, lest Jugurtha should escape him. But the crasty Numidian, who knew the country, draws and leads him insensibly into narrow passes, all whose avenues he had before secured; and Aulus sinds himself taken and conquered almost before he had seen the enemy.

Diftrust and terror run through his troops. The Numidians charged the Romans in front and rear. They shower upon them a storm of arrows. Some are flain; others feek a paffage and means to fly: but whatever way they turn themselves, they meet the enemy, and death. At length the Roman general, with his principal officers, gains the top of a mountain, where Jugurtha, who was fure he could not escape him, suffers him to spend the night. The day discovers his defeat in its full extent. He fees one part of his troops cut to pieces, and the other befieged by a victorious enemy, who is mafter of all the country: there was a necessity of coming to a capitulation. Jugurtha pretends, that he will not make use of all his advantages. He grants the Romans life and liberty, but upon condition that they should pass under the yoke; an ignominious ceremony, by which the conquerors affixed an eternal shame to the defeat of the vanquished. He exacts besides from the general and principal officers a folemn promife that the Romans shall never disturb him in the possession of Numidia. Aulus, no less abject than presumptuous, fubscribes to every thing; and a Roman is feen to be in more fear of death, than of the lois of his honour.

The Senate was no fooner informed of so shameful a treaty, but they declared it void. They recalled Aulus; and Metellus, the Consul elect, was intrusted with the prosecution of the Numidian war. He was a senator of one of the best families in Rome, a great captain, a good man, of a virtue and probity universally acknowledged; one who, though he was of the contrary party to that of the people, was as agreeable to them, as to the patricians themselves, whose glory and greatest support he was.

The Romans knowing his great qualities, and particularly that he was incorruptible, no longer made the least doubt of the defeat of Jugurtha, who had hitherto maintained himself by nothing but artifices, and the avarice of the leaders that had been sent against him. Metellus assembles his troops, makes new levies, lays up magazines of provisions, arms, and ammunition, and sets out for Numidia, accompanied by Caius Marius, whom the people had chosen for one of his lieutenants.

Marius was born in a village near Arpinum, of poor parents, who earned their livelihood by the labour of their hands. He had been brought up in rustic employments, and his manners were as fierce as his face was terrible; he was a man of a great bulk; of extraordinary strength of body; courageous; and a foldier, before he ever bore arms. He entered betimes into the army, and diftinguished himself by actions of a very extraordinary valour, and above all, by an exact practice of the military discipline. He sought, in all occasions, dangers worthy of his courage; and the longest marches, and greatest fatigues of war, were nothing to a man brought up in a hard way of living. There was observed in all his conduct, an extreme averleness to pleasures: and after his advancement, he feemed to be fensible to nothing but ambition: and revenge; passions which cost the Republic so much blood. He went through all the degrees in the army, and every step he rose was in reward. for fome action, by which he had fignalized himfelf. When he asked of the people the office of Tribune: in a legion, most of his fellow-citizens did not . N 3 know

know his face: but his name was unknown to nobody; and by means of a reputation fo well established, he carried that employment from several Patricians that were his competitors. Metellus, who was fo good a judge of valour, afterwards promoted him to the chief posts in the army, and, by his protection, he had attained even the dignity of Tribune of the people. It was now that he began to discover his ambition, and the violent hatred which he bore to the party of the nobles. He was incessantly declaiming against the luxury of the fenators; and though he was not eloquent, he was daily reprefenting to the people, with a ftrong thundering voice, what a shame it was to them that they durst never intrust the command of the armies, and the chief dignities of the state, to any but Patricians: that those covetous and ambitious men had made them almost a patrimony to themfelves; that by means of their great credit, they handed them down from one to another; and that while they were invested with them, they practifed all manner of extortions with impunity.

Marius, to break their cabals, and prevent their methods of promoting each other, proposed a new law, and a new way of giving the fuffrages, in the election of the curule magistrates. Cotta, who was then conful, and who faw into his defigns, opposed the publication of the law, and the new Tribune was even called before the Senate to answer for his conduct. Marius appeared, and instead of being daunted, as a man of fuch low birth, and fo unexperienced in affairs, might have been expected to be, he boldly threatened the Conful, that he would cause him to be seized, if he persisted in his oppofition. He then turned towards Metellus, who hitherto had been his patron, as it were to ask him to declare in his favour. But Metellus having publicly disapproved his conduct, Marius, without any respect for a magistrate, to whom he was obliged

liged for his fortune, immediately commanded his officers to feize him; and he had been carried to prison with Cotta, if that Conful had not forborn Marius went directly from the his opposition. Senate to the affembly of the people, where he got his law confirmed. The people, charmed with his resoluteness, gave him extravagant praises, and afterwards appointed him to go into Numidia, in quality of Metellus's lieutenant. That general, who preferred the good of his country to any private refentment, employed him with all the confidence that his valour and capacity deserved. His confidence was not misplaced, and Marius was ever after looked upon as the furest instrument of his victories, Metellus, being arrived in Africa, made it his first business to restore the military discipline among the troops, which Aulus delivered over to him +; he then marched against Jugurtha, gained two victories over that prince, took his chief towns from him; and after having purfued him from province to province, at length drove him to the very extremity of his dominions. Jugurtha, having now neither troops to fight Metellus, nor a place of refuge left, defired to capitulate, and offered to fubmit to all the conditions that the Roman general should think fit to prescribe to him. Metellus first ordered him to pay two hundred thoufand pound weight of filver for the charge of the war; to deliver up all his elephants, and a certain quantity of arms and horses; which he executed punctually. The Conful then demanded that he should yield up the deferters. Jugurtha obeyed in this also, and gave up those that he could lay hands But when, lastly, he was ordered to repair himself to Tisidium, there to receive further directions, then he began to hefitate, and spent several days, without being able to come to any refolution.

[†] Val. Max. 1. 2. c. 7. Front. Stratag. 1. 4. c. 1. Salust. Flo. 1. 3. c. 1, Oros. 1. 5. c. 15.

The remembrance of his crimes; the apprehensions that they intended to revenge the death of the two princes, Adherbal and Hiempsal; the charms of sovereignty, and the horror there was in the thought of falling from a throne into servitude, drew him to tempt once more the fate of war; and though he was stripped of his chief forces, he thought he had still enough remaining to lengthen out the war, or at least to keep off his destruction for some little time. Thus he breaks off the negociation; gathers together new troops; fortifies some little places that were still in his power at the extremity of his kingdom, and endeavours to surprize those which the Romans had made themselves masters of.

Metellus had put a garrifon into Vacca, one of the largest and richest cities of Numidia, and had given the government of it to Turpilius Sile us, his friend and hoft, but no Roman citizen Turpilius, a worthy man, free from all pride and avarice, forgot no methods to tame those Barbarians, and to gain their affections by the mildness of his government. All the inhabitants were charmed with his justice and moderation; but the love of their country, fo natural to all men, fidelity to their fovereign, and aversion to a foreign yoke, prevailed above the esteem they had for Furpilius. The chief of the city suffered themselves to be gained by Jugurtha; they afterwards take the opportunity of a public festival, to invite the officers to feast at their houses. Every man stabs his guest; and by the means of this tumult Jugurtha enters. the city, and cuts the Roman garrison to pieces-Turpilius alone escaped this massacre, drough le gratitude of the inhabitants; who begged his life of Jugurtha, and afterwards conducted him to the very camp of the Romans, where he gave an account of this unhappy accident.

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Though Metellus was convinced that he was rather unfortunate than guilty, he could not help

caufing him to be imprisoned. He was immediately had before the council of war. Marius, to fpite his general, fets himself up for the accuser of Turpilius; he charges him with having fold the town, and profecutes this affair fo warmly, that he gets him condemned to death. It was not till after Metellus had retaken Vacca, that Turpilius's innocence, and the treachery of the inhabitants was made plain. Every body pitied him: the friends of the Roman general bewailed with him the unfortunate end of a man whom he had thought worthy of his friendship. There was none but Marius who fought to make himself considerable, by a declared hate against his general, that rejoiced publicly at the death of Turpilius; and he infolently boafted, that he had found means to torment Metellus with a perpetual remorfe, and an avenging fury, who would be continually requiring of him the innocent blood of his hoft and friend. Marius, eat up with ambition, affected this public hatred to one of the chief Patricians in the Senate, only to gain himself credit with the opposite party. He had no fooner attained to be the Conful's lieutenant, but he aspired to his place; and to arrive at it, he omitted nothing that might gain him reputation. He was in all undertakings: he was for heading all parties of troops; and as well in councils, as in battles and fieges, nobody gave more prudent advice, or fought with more courage and valour. He was at the same time admired for that temperance and frugality, from which he never departed. His habit and diet were the fame as the meanest foldier's; though a general officer he ate of the fame bread that was distributed to the meanest in the army; lay upon the ground, or some coarse mattress; and was the first in all labours, whether to open a trench, or fortify the camp.

Meanwhile, as the time of the election of Confuls came on, and as he openly afpired to that great

dignity;

dignity, he causes it to be reported at Rome by his emissaries, That Metellus prolonged the war, only to continue himself in his power and command: that that Patrician, proud of his noble birth, had more oftentation than real merit: that his natural flowness being increased by age, gave opportunity to an active and vigilant enemy to traverse his marches; that they would never see an end of this war, unless they changed their general: and that, for his part, if they gave him but half the treops that Metellus had in his army, he would undertake, in one fingle campaign, to bring Jugurtha to Rome, dead or alive. The Tribunes of the people, overjoyed to find a man of fuch merit to fet up in the election against the Patricians that pretended to the Consulate, make interest in his favour. The heads of the tribes are eafily gained: they make fure of the greatest number of voices, and loudly boaft in Rome, That in spite of all the credit of the great, the Confulate in this election should go out of the Order of the Patricians. Marius, informed of this favourable inclination towards him in the people, defires his discharge of Metellus, that he might go in person, according to the law, to demand that dignity, which was never conferr'd upon the absent. Metellus was surprifed, and indeed filled with indignation, that a man of fo low an extract should make such high pretensions: and though that general was full of honour, and deferved his great reputation; Saluft tells us, he was not quite free from that pride which is almost inseparable from noble birth. It was in this spirit that he answered Marius with a kind of raillery, mixed with contempt: "That he advised him to " defer putting up for the Confulship, till young " Metellus his fon was old enough to be his col-" league."

This fon of Metellus was not yet twenty years old, and actually ferved at that time in his father's army.

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army. Every body knows, that in the ordinary course, a man was to be at least forty three years old, to attain the Confulship. Marius, without feeming offended at fo sharp an answer, again follicits his discharge; obtains it; and arrives at Rome before the day of the Comitia. One of the Tribunes introduced him in the first affembly. Marius, under the pretence of giving the people an account of the Numidian war, was not ashamed, in order to exalt himself, to vilify the great actions of his general. He ascribed to himself the honour of all advantages; and according to his account, Metellus, that great captain, had contributed nothing to the victories, but his name and Auspices *. He mixed with all this, infinuations full of malice; That Metellus protracted the war, either to continue himfelf longer in the honour of the command, or out of his natural inactivity: that the timorous and uncertain manner in which he carried on this war. made him feem more like a man that did not fo much think of putting an end to it, and of conquering, as of not being vanquished: that for his part, who knew the country, and was certainly more active and vigilant than Metellus, he would engage in one campaign to take Jugurtha, dead or alive, or to drive him out of Numidia, and all Africa. The people, already prepoffessed in his favour, and charmed with his boldness, gave him the highest praises; and Marius looked upon them as fure pledges of an approaching Confulship. Not but that he faw great obstacles in his way, especially from the nobles, who could never confent that a man of fuch low birth should fill the chief dignity in the republic. They would much more willingly have made him general of the army in Numidia. But as those two employments were inseparable, the command of the armies always belonging to the

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Confuls, Marius was at length made Conful, that he might be made general of the Numidian army. The new Confut, intoxicated with his greatness, gave free reins to the hatred he Rome, had always bore to the body of the nobi-646. lity. He infulted them in all his discourses; and boafted, That the dignity he had obtained, was a victory which the people had won over the great, by means of his courage and valour. "They " despise my birth (faid he) and I despise their pride " and effeminacy. They upbraided me with my po-" verty, fo much efteemed among our ancestors; " and I, much more justly, upbraided them with " their avarice; to which we daily fee them facri-" fice their faith, their honour, the glory and in-" terest of the republic. They envy the dignity, to " which the votes of the people, and of all good " men, have raifed me. Why do they not also " envy me my labours in war, the dangers to which "I have so often exposed myself, and the wounds " that I have received in battle? I am arrived at " the command no otherwise, than by a long course " of obedience; and they expect to command, with-" out ever having obeyed, and without any other " merit besides that of their birth. If they com-" mit faults, if they fuffer themselves by their ne-" gligence to be furprized by the enemy; the cre-" dit, the cabals of their relations, their swarm of " creatures, cover all. The losses they occasion " are connived at and difguifed, or thrown up-" on fubaltern officers. The truth never pierces " the cloud formed by the authority of the great,

"the cloud formed by the authority of the great, and the flattery of their flaves. For my part, I never had any of these aids: I have no relations in high posts: I cannot produce the images, the consulships, and triumphs of my ancestors. My whole reliance is upon myself; and

"I have no support, but my courage. I even confess, that the talent of elocution is what I am no

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" master of: I am ignorant of that dangerous art, " which enables a man to cover with fine words " the shame of actions full of baseness. Educated " almost from my infancy in a camp, and bred up " in the military discipline, I have learnt nothing " but how to make good use of my sword. There " lies my whole study; and this is the instruction " and example which I shall give my foldiers. It " is by the practice of these lessons, that we hope " to put a speedy end to the Numidian war. " taking the command of the army out of the " hands of the great, you have removed the chief " obstacle that lay in the way to victory. It has " been nothing but their ignorance in the military " art, their prefumption, and especially their scan-" dalous avarice, that have drawn out the war to " fuch a length already."

Marius having added to the people's confidence by this discourse, desired new recruits for the legions; and that he might be allowed to take auxiliary troops of the nations that were subjects or allies of the republic. He obtains as many decrees and plebiscita as he asks. The people, and especially the meaner fort, proud of having a Consul of their own Order, run with the greatest eagerness to list themselves under his banners. All are for following him; they think the victory certain under so great a general: and the new soldier slatters himself, that he shall quickly return to his country laden with booty.

Marius receives indifferently into his troops all that offer themselves, even such as were not worth what was prescribed by the laws to capacitate a man to be listed in the Roman militia. But this Consul, a slave to ambition, and who privately had formed the vastest designs, was not forry to bind to himself these fort of people, without substance or home, who could subsist only by his protection. He then Vol. II.

embarked with his new levies, and foon arrived in Africa

Metellus heard not without the greatest vexation that he must give place to a successor, especially at a time when the war feemed almost concluded, and he had nothing more to do, but to make himfelf mafter of a few places of finall importance. faid, that this great and wife man could not help fhedding tears at the first news he heard of it. Saluft, from whom I have taken most of these facts, relates, that this injustice, fo intolerable to a general, would have given Metellus less concern, if the republic's choice had fallen upon any but Marius, whom he always looked upon as his creature, and as an ungrateful wretch, that had decried his conduch, to raise himself upon the ruins of his repu-As he could not bear the thoughts of feeing a man that was fo hateful to him, he appointed Rutilius, one of his Lieutenants, to deliver over his army to Marius; and then departed for Rome, where he very foon arrived.

His return, and the account he gave of the fuccefs of his arms, the towns he had taken, the provinces he had conquered, and the battles he had

won; these quickly destroyed and wiped off the ill reports which Marius had raifed against him. The esteem and respect which the people had for that Velleius Paterculus great man, revived afresh. informs us +, that they, with unanimous confent, decreed him the honour of the triumph, with the furname of Numidicus: and it was observed, fays that historian, that there was in Rome above twelve magistrates, all at the same time, of the same family

as Metellus, who, in less than twelve years, had raised themselves to the chief dignities of the republic; fome to the Confulate, others to the Cenforship, and several that had added to these dignities

the glory of a triumph.

Marius being landed upon the coast of Africa, was foon after joined by Cornelius Sylla, his quæftor; who brought him a ftrong body of horse, which he had rais'd among the Latins. The quaflors were the treasurers general of the republic. They are thought to be as ancient as the foundation of Rome; though some refer their origin to the confuls, as we have already faid. There were two that always stayed at Rome, and two others, and afterwards a great number were added, who usually attended the confuls to the army. It was necessary to have been at least ten years in the fervice, to a:tain this employment: and though the quæstors had no jurisdiction in the city, they had particular commands in the army. And as every thing feems to depend upon those who have the administration of the treasure, several consulars were known to put up for that post. Titus Quintius Capitolinus, after three confulfhips, thought it not beneath him to accept the office of quæstor. Cato the ancient served in it, after having been honoured with a triumph: and it was at length decreed by the Lex Pompeia, that for the future none should be admitted into the quæftorship but consulars: which shews what a notion the men most jealous of their dignities and birth have of the advantage of being concerned in the public monies.

Sylla, before this law, obtained it by that time he was one and thirty years old. It feems, fays Velleius Paterculus, as it diftiny, by bringing Sylla and Marius together, had had an inclination to unite those two men, and to prevent the calamites which their discord afterwards brought upon the republic. But since they are both going to act such great parts in this history, it will be proper to give a more particular knowledge of Sylla; especially when we have

already drawn the character of Marins.

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Lucius Cornelius Sylla, a Patrician, and of one O 2 of

of the most illustrious families in Rome +, was well made, of a handsome aspect, his air was noble, his manners easy; seemingly full of freedom, as if his whole heart lay open to you; naturally infinuating, perfuafive, eloquent; he loved pleafule, but glory more. His duty took place of every thing: he could give himself up to pleasure, and tear himself from it with equal eafe. He strove to please every body; modest in his speech, if he talked of himself; lavish of praises to others, and yet more so of money. He lent it readily to those that applied to him; and prevented those who had occasion for it, and were afraid to ask him. He never demanded it again; and it feemed as if he intended to buy the whole army. Familiar above all with the common foldiers, he would become one of them himfelf, affume their coarfe manners, drink with them, rally them, and be rallied by them with pleasure: but when he was rifen from table, always ferious, active, diligent. He was a perfect Proteus, and could put on all these several characters with the greatest ease; and his virtues and vices were equally concealed under the deepest diffigulation, which made him impenetrable even in his most secret pleasures, to the very companions of his debauches.

Such was Sylla when he came to Africa, and into Marius's army*. He applied himself first to gain the esteem of the ablest soldiers, by his diligence in all the military duties; whether the army was to sight or to intrench, Sylla was every where. He ran to those parts where there was most danger, with the same readiness that others return from them. A noble emulation made him sue for the most dangerous employments; and it was not long before he acquired the esteem of the general, and of the soldiers in an equal degree. Marius afterwards even gave him a separate body of troops,

[†] Sal. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 6. Plat. in Sylla.

which he commanded in chief. I shall enter into the particulars of this war, no further than is neceffary for the connection of the feveral parts of my story. It is sufficient to take notice, that before Marius's arrival in Africa, Jugurtha, driven by Metellus to the extremity of his dominions, had got a neighbouring king, named Bocchus, for his protector and ally. These two princes Marius had to deal with. He took Capfa, a great city, and very populous; and afterwards made himself master of the fort, before which Aulus Albinus had received his defeat. The armies quickly came to a battle *. The two kings, by a private march, furprize the Romans; attack them in the night; fill their troops with terror; make a great flaughter; and must have gained a compleat victory, if the obscurity had not hindered them from knowing the advantage they had gained, and improving it. Marius quickly had his revenge +; and almost before the news Year of came to Rome of the loss he had re-Rome. ceived in the first action, advice came that he had defeated the two kings in two decifive battles, and disabled them both from keeping the field.

Bocchus having in these two battles selt the valour and fortune of the Romans, did not think sit to hazard his own crown to defend that of his ally; he resolved to make his peace, and sent ambassadors to Rome to sue for it.

These ambassadors, being admitted into the Senate, said, That the King, their master, had been abused by the artifices of Jugurtha, that he repented his engagement with him, and desired the alliance and friendship of the Romans. Answer was made him in these terms.

"The Senate and Roman people are not used to forget either services or injuries; however,

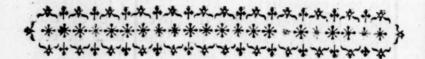
Orof l. s. c. 15. † Plut. in Mar. Sal. bell. Jugur. Vide: Orof. Eutr. Flo.

" fince Bocchus repents of his fault, they grant " him their pardon. As to peace and alliance, he " shall obtain them when he has deferved them by " his actions." Bocchus, perplexed with this answer, fecretly intreat d Marius to fend him his Quæstor. Sylla repaired to him. Several ways were propofed for establishing a peace: "You have no other " (fays Sylla to Bocchus) but to deliver Jugurtha " to us. By this you will make amends for the " imprudence and mischief of your first engage-" ment; and this must be the price of our alliance " and friendship." Bocchus seemed shocked at fuch a proposal, and represented to Sylla, that such a piece of treachery as this would affix an everlafting shame to his memory. This was the subject of feveral conferences between that King and the Roman Quæftor. But Sylla, who was preffing and eloquent, so often repeated and urged it so ftrongly upon him, that nothing but an extraordinary piece of fervice could expiate the injustice he had been guilty of in declaring against the Romans, that he at length determined to yield up Jugurtha. That prince was betrayed, and feized in a pretend-Year of ed conference which Boschus desired of him; he was laden with chains, and given Rome up to Sylla, who delivered him into the 647. hands of Marius, his general; and by the captivity of this unhappy prince, the Numidian war was entirely concluded.

This good news could not have come to Rome at a more lucky time. They had just heard, that a prodigious multitude of Barbarians out of the north advanced towards the fouth, and threatened all Italy. It was refolved to fend Marius against them, who was now just in the height of that favour and applause which a new victory gives a general. He was named Conful the second time, though the laws would not allow a man that was absent to be chosen Conful; nay, and required ten years interval be-

tween two confulships. To these very remarkable favours, the people added the government of Gallia Narbonensis, and at the same time decreed him the honours of the triumph. Jugurtha, laden with chains, was the principal ornament of it. He was dragged like a flave at the wheels of Marius's chariot. That prince, after this ceremony, was led to prison, where he was condemned to be starved to death. The executioner tore off his royal robe, stripped him of all his cloaths, and then pushed him into a deep dungeon, which was to be his tomb. It is related, that as he went into it ftark naked, he cried out, "O Hercules, how " cold are thy stoves!" alluding to the baths of that god, which were faid to be cold. That prince firuggling with hunger, continued fix days living: and a vain defire of prolonging his life, ferved as a punishment to a king, who had always reckoned for nothing the death of his nearest relations, and of the greatest men of his court, whom he had incrificed to his fortune and ambition.

The End of the Ninth Book.



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HISTORY

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REVOLUTIONS

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OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK X.

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Marius delivers Gaul and Italy from three hundred thousand Barbarians, known by the name of Cimbri and Teutones, who had already despoiled a large country, and defeated several Roman Generals. But envyiag Metellus his reputation and power, he meditates his ruin. He unites with Saturninus and Glaucia, and prevails to have him exiled. These two men, the greatest profligates in the commonwealth, are stoned and beaten to death. Metellus is recalled. Sylla's great skill in the art of war. Marius growing jealous of him, looks on him as his enemy. Rome divides their affections betwixt

betwixt thefe two generals. Ready to tear each other to pieces by a civil war, the Romans reunite against several nations of Italy, who had made a league to oblige the Romans by force of arms togrant them the titles and privileges of Roman citizens. Sylla is preferred to Marius in the command against Mithridates. The fatal consequences of that preference. Particular account of the civil war it occalioned. Death of Marius.

G REAT and uncommon were the rejoicings which the people of Rome made on the day that Marius triumphed, not only on a public account, but because the consulate of that Plebeian was of their own procuring; confequently they looked on themselves as the authors of his victories and affociates in his triumph. The Tribunes took thence continual occasions to infult the Patricians in their speeches: they haughtily asked of them, What commander, what general from amongst them, was comparable to that Plebeian? and if it was still their opinion, that no body could pretend to valour, courage, or skill, in the command of armies, who did not derive his origin from the nobility? The Patricians, on the other hand, to leffen Marius's glory, gave out, that all the honour of victory was due to Metellus; who, after two compleat battles gained, had drove Jugurtha to the most distant parts of his dominions; and that Marius might yet have been in Africa, if Sylla, a Patrician, had not made himfelf master of that king's person in Numidia. Sylla himself, yet more jealous of Marius's glory, than the other had been of the advantages gained by Metellus, caufed the history of that event to be engraved on a stone, to perpetuate the memory thereof. On it was feen, in what manner Bocchus delivered up Jugurtha to. him; and to teaze Marius yet more, he from that time used that stone for his common seal; a circumftance

cumstance which in history would seem of little import, if the same had not given birth to the divisions which afterwards happened betwixt these two great men, and in which the Senate and people

fo greatly interested themselves.

But this competition and party-spirit were laid afide at the first news of the approach of those Barbarians we just mentioned. More than three hundred thousand men, known by the names of Teutones and Cimbri, iffued from Cherfonefus Cimbrica, had entered into a confederacy to feek for lands in a more temperate and warmer climate than their own. These Barbarians, attended with an innumerable body of old men, women, and children, broke into Gaul, where they committed great outrages. The Cimbri cut in pieces the army commanded by M. Junius Silanus, and defeated another body commanded by M. Aurelius Scau. rus, lieutenant of Cn. Mallius, then Conful: the like misfortune befel that Conful, and Q. Servilius Cepio, who foon after lost above fourscore thoufand men in two great battles. Then those Barbarians feparated, the Teutones remained in Gaul, from whence they made preparation to pass into Italy, and the Cimbri took their way into Germany. So many losses, joined to the great numbers and fierceness of those Barbarians, struck a terror into the Romans. Jealoufy gave way; the two parties that divided Rome were united; and all, as with one accord, made Marins chief commander in the expedition against their common enemy. He was voted Couful two years together, which Year of was his fecond and third confulate; in Rome which time he raised great armies, and for-650. tified the straits and passes through which the enemy might penctrate into Italy. He returned to Rome to prefide at the election of new Confuls *. 1 There did he declare, that he did not pretend to

^{*} Plut. in Mario.

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that dignity, fince he had already enjoyed it thrice, and would even decline it if it was offered him. But those who knew to what a degree he was aspiring and ambitious, laughed at that sham modesty; and easily penetrated into his designs, when they observed what part he made Saturninus, his creature, and a Tribune, to act at the same time, who openly called him knave and traiter, for refusing to serve his country, animating the people to compel Marius by force to take upon him the command of the army.

This stratagem was too grofs not to be discerned by a nation so clear-sighted as the Romans were. But as at that time they had no general of a superior capacity, and that Metellus was too aged to take upon him the management of a war, wherein there would be occasion for as much activity as courage, Marius was elected Conful for the fourth time, and Catulus Luctatius was appointed his colleague; a man indeed unequal to him in the art of war, but excel-

ling him in modefty, probity, and fweet behaviour. The two Confuls divided the legions betwixt them. Marius with his fhare marched against the Teutones, whom he met and defeated near Aix in Provence. Historians relate *, that the battle lasted two whole days; that a hundred and fifty thoufand of the Teutones were flain; and that by fo general a defeat, that Barbarian nation was almost The Cimbri, more fuccefsful at quite extinct. first, had pass'd the Alps, and penetrated into the Gallia Cifalpina. Catulus waited for them upon the banks of the Athefis (Adige). But having no more than twenty thousand men to oppose so powerful an hoft, a general terror seized the hearts of his army: many fled before the approach of the

^{*} Plut. in Mario. Orof. l. 5. c. 16. Flor. l. 3. c. 3. Liv. Epit. l. 68.

enemy; and the Roman general, to fave the reft, was forced to quit the banks of the river, and to encamp in fuch defiles as he might not be forced from, Marius, in the beginning of his fifth Confulate. came to his relief with a victorious army. The two Confuls having joined their forces, gave battle to the Cimbri, in the plain of Vercelli. Those Barbarians were defeated, and the Romans obtained fo compleat a victory, that, if credit may be given to their historians +, an hundred and twenty thousand of the Cimbri fell on the field of battle, besides

fixty thousand that were taken prisoners.

The two Confuls jointly triumphed, on account of these victories; and Marius, insatiable of hos nours, put up for a fixth confulate, with as much eagerness as he had for the first. It is even related, that he bought it by prefents given underhand to the heads of the tribes, and those who bore the greatest sway among the people; and that at the fame time he made use of the like means to get Metellus excluded *, whose virtues and experience, joined to the wishes of all honest men, loudly called him to the government of the commonwealth. To him they preferred Valerius Flaccus, who was less the colleague than the flave of Marius. This man, fo truly great by his valour and fervices to his country during the war, became its tyrant during the peace.

In this exalted state of glory, to which his victories had raised him, he could not bear the presence of Metellus, because he saw that his virtues made him more admired than himfelf. Not fatisfied with having disappointed him of his confulship, he made use of the meanest and most unworthy artifices to get him banished Rome. To this effect he leagued himself with two Senators, the one called Glaucia,

Plut. in Mario.

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Book X.

⁺ Plut. in Mario & Sylla. Orof. l. 5. c. 16. Vel. Pat. l. 2.

the other Saturninus, both declared enemies of Metellus, the most profligate men in the whole commonwealth, and whom that grave Senator would have expelled the Senate during his cenforship, if he had not been opposed therein by his colleague,

with whom they had fome interest *.

These three men united their resentment and cahals. Marius was Conful, Glaucia Prætor: and Saturninus, who had been once before a Tribune of the people, folicited for that post a second time, that he might use the power annexed to that dignity against Metellus. But on the day of election, Nonius, one of Saturninus's competitors, took occasion to describe, in such lively colours, the various crimes he was guilty of, that this people, in whom there was vet a remnant of the ancient probity of their ancestors, blushed at their first design of putting so wicked a man at their head. He did not get one fingle vote, and Nonius was chosen in his stead. This preference cost him his life. Saturninus caus'd him to be stabled at the breaking up of the affembly+; and Glaucia, with whom he had contrived this murder, having called the people together again the next morning early, his adherents, in a riotous manner, declared Saturninus elected, before any confiderable part of the people was yet arrived at the place of election.

These three men, now masters of the whole administration, contrived instantly how to undo Metellus. To succeed therein, Saturninus, as Tribune of the people, renewed the ancient quarrel about the sharing of lands. But to give new life to a faction almost extinct, he proposed a new object of their animofity. Marius and Catullus, by the defeat of the Cimbri, having recovered fome lands in Gallia Cifalpina, of which those Barbarians had taken possession, he proposed to share them among

[·] App. Alex. l. 1. † Idem. ibid. VOL. II.

the poorest citizens that dwelled in the country, most of them people without house or home, whom Marius had made use of in that war, and who were entirely devoted to him. To this propofal he added a clause, that, if the people approved of it, the Senate should be obliged within five days to pass it into a law; that every Senator should be obliged to fwear to it in the temple of Saturn; and that whoever refused to take that oath, should be expelled the Senate, and condemned to a fine of twenty talents. Then they notified the day of meeting. Marius fent privately to all those of his party in the country, defiring them to come thither in as great bodies as possibly they could; and they came accordingly from all parts of Italy. Saturninus flattered himself, that botheir numerous appearance he would make the law pass: but the citizens who dwelt in Rome, jealous, and refenting that the inhabitants of the country were preferred to them, made an open and strong opposition. This tumultuous meeting divided into two bodies. The citizens finding themselves the weakest, that the affembly might be diffolved, cried out, " That they had " heard it thunder;" which according to the laws and principles of their religion, obliged them to suspend, for that day, their deliberations and affairs. But the country people having amongst them some veteran foldiers, most of them men of metal, difregarding that superstitious custom, fell upon the citizens with stones and sticks, drove them from the Forum, and then paffed the law.

Marius, who was fecretly at the bottom of all this and the chief manager of the plot, called the Senate together as being conful, to deliberate upon the oath prescribed by that law, and which was now very haughtily demanded of every Senator. As he knew Metellus to be an upright man, and firm in his resolutions, he feigned to draw him into the Inare, as if he detested so unjust a law; which, he faid,

faid, could have no other aim than to revive the ancient feditions. He added, that for himself, he should never take an oath so prejudicial to the commonwealth. Metellus, as he had very well foreseen, did not fail to declare himself of his opinion; and he was seconded by the votes of the whole Senate.

Marius having drawn fuch a declaration from a man whom he knew incapable of turning, called the Senate on the fifth day, as prescribed by that law, and then he pulled off the matk. He faid, That he had very feriously reflected on that great affair; that there would infallibly happen a very great tumult, if they perfifted abfolutely to refuse the taking of the proposed oath; that every thing was to be feared from the fury and refentment of that multitude of unpolished and incensed men; but that to dazzle their eyes, and to fet them going out of Rome to their own homes, he thought they might extricate themselves out of the present difficulty by means of an oath, conceived in dark and equivocal terms; and that it was his opinion, an oath to that law should be taken; but with this express proviso. if it was law. He added, that after those country people should be returned to their habitations, it would be easy, in another less riotous affembly, to demonstrate to the people of the city, that the proposition of a Tribune, received only by rioters, and in fuch circumstances as by law and religion made all things done on fuch a day void, could not be looked upon as law.

The hypocrite having thus varnished over his breach of faith, goes from the Senate-house, attended by his whole party, directly to the temple of Saturn, and there takes the oath pure and simple, without the restriction he proposed himself. Those of his party did the same; and the greatest number of Senators, either through corruption, or fear of banishment, followed his example. Metellus alone courageously persisted in his former opinion;

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and it was chiefly upon his firmness that his enemies had built and grounded their hopes of effecting his ruin. Saturninus, apprized that he had not taken the oath in the time prescribed by the law, fends a meffenger to expel him the Senate: but the other Tribunes of the people, who were not of that cabal, and who revered the virtue of Metellus, unanimously opposed and prevented the affront designed

to be put on that great man.

Saturninus, incenfed to find a stop put to his defigns, fends for all those country people back again to Rome. He fummons the affembly, gets up into the Rostrum, and after having inveighed ftrongly against Metellus, he declares to all that populace, That they must never hope for their shares of the lands, nor the execution of the law concerning it, as long as Metellus should abide in Rome. Upon the remonstrances of that feditious Tribune, the affembly condemned Metellus to banishment, if that very day he refused to take the oath enacted by that law. The nobility, the whole Senate, and even the most noted among the people, offered to oppose this most unjust decree of the po-Many, out of affection for the person of Metellus, had even armed themselves secretly under their long robes, and town habits. But that wife Senator, who truly loved his country, after having in a tender manner returned them thanks for the love they had expressed for him, declared he wou'd never fuffer that a fingle drop of blood should be spilled on his account. And it is faid, that after having resolved to go into banishment, he should fay to his intimate friends, to justify himself on account of that refolution, That either peace and quietness would be restored in the commonwealth, in which case he did not doubt of his being recall'd; or that, if the administration remained in such hands as those of Saturninus, nothing could be more advantageous to him, than to be at a distance

from Rome. He then went into exile: his virtue and great character made him to be received in every place he went through, as a fellow-citizen: he feemed no stranger in any place: and having fixed that of his abode to the isle of Rhodes, he there enjoyed, in a sweet tranquillity, that natural empire, which virtue bestows without the addition

of places and dignities.

The commonwealth fell a prey to Saturninus, by the retreat of Metellus Marius, to acknowledge the services he had done him in this affair, suffered him to exercise an open tyranny in Rome. There was not any liberty lest at the elections: force carried every thing. That surious Tribune, always accompanied with a band of affassins instead of guards, got himself continued in the Tribunate for the third time; and procured for his colleague, a run-away slave, named L. Equilius Firmanus, who called himself a son of Tiberius Gracchus. He proceeded at last to that degree of violence, that having resolved to raise Glaucia, the accomplice of all his crimes, to the Confulship, he caused Memmius, an eminent Patrician,

because he was Glaucia's rival, to be beaten to death by P. Mettius, one of his guards.

This murder caused the better sort of people to take up arms; even the populace joined the Senate; the place of the assembly was like a field of battle, where the blood of the citizens was spilled with impunity. Saturninus, Glaucia, C. Sauseius, then Quæstor, and their party, sinding themselves the weakest seized upon the Capitol. The Senate, by a public decree, proclaimed them enemies to their country, and ordered Marius to prosecute them as such. He was obliged to arm, but he did it so slowly, as made it apparent, it was much against his inclination that he obeyed the orders of the Senate.

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The people, well acquainted with his inclination, and fecret intrigues, weary of his apparent delays, for which he always pleaded some excuse, and bearing with uneafiness those profligates to continue in the strongest part of the town, cut the pipes that carried water into the Capitol, and foon reduced those rioters to a desperate thirst. The greatest part, rather than surrender, were for setting fire to some neighbouring houses, in hopes they should make their escape during the contufion and tumult that is common in fuch accidents. But Saturninus and Glaucia, depending on their intimacy with Marius, furrendered to him. He caused them to be confined in the palace, as if he defigned to have brought them to a regular trial: but that house was to them rather a place of fafety than a prison, and he had set guards upon them, less to prevent their running away, than to secure them against the attempts of their enemies.

These precautions did not hinder the people, now worked up into a violent passion, to do themselves justice. Part of them drives away the guards, and furrounds the place of their confinement; others get upon the top of the house, take down the tiles, and with them and stones kill Saturninus, Glaucia, Saufeius, and that band of profligates that had been Their death was as the fecured there with them. fignal for the restoration of Metellus. His rela-Year of tions, friends, or rather the whole Senate, demanded his repeal of the people in the Rome, public affembly. All unanimously voted 654. his return, except one fingle Tribune call'd Furius, who had the confidence to oppose the

withes of all his fellow-citizens.

This Tribune was no better than the fon of a freedman *; but as he was invested with a dignity which gave him the right of opposition, the friends

^{*} App. Alex. l. r. Cic. in Raber.

of Metellus did all they could to prevail with him to wave it. Even the fon of Metellus threw himfelf down at his feet, in the midst of the assembly, and, with tears in his eyes, conjured him to restore his father to him, which was the occasion of his bearing afterwards the firname of Metellus Pius. But the Tribune, deaf to all entreaties, rejected his petition with very harsh usage. Luckily C Canuleius was chosen Tribune of the people the next year. That plebeian magistrate having a respect for the great merit of Metellus, not only took off this opposition, but fell upon Furius himself, and impeached him that moment before the people. He laid before them, with a great deal of rhetoric, his inhumanity, and the ill usage he had made of the prerogatives of his dignity. He urged, that, to fatisfy his private passion, he had deprived his country of one of the best citizens in the whole commonwealth. In short, he rendered his colleague so odious, that the people, without fo much as hearing his defence, tore him immediately to pieces *. And the Tribunate, that facred magistracy, which had been established for no other end than to protect and defend the citizens, was violated in the person of a Tribune, for having attempted to carry his authority too far.

The restoration of Metellus meeting with no farther obstacle, he returned to Rome. The whole city went out to meet him, and his return was a real triumph. The whole day was not sufficient for receiving the compliments of the Senate, and the applauses of the people. Every body thought they saw justice, peace, and liberty return with him. Marius alone, always jealous of his glory, and not able either to hinder or to bear his return, went out of Rome, and embarked, under pretence of going to Asia, to offer certain sacrifices, which he

[·] App. Alex. Ibid.

had vowed, as he faid, to the Mother of the Gods, during the war with the Teutones and Cimbri. Be-fides the presence of Metellus, which he shunned, and which seemed to reproach him continually with ungratefulness, there was a secret motive which obliged him to quit Rome, and go as far as Asia. Marius, a great general, but of a rough temper, and accustomed to that absolute authority which goes along with the command of the armies, did in a manner languish in peaceable times, and even wanted those talents which are necessary to gain applause in a commonwealth, where generally men were advanced to the administration by their eloquence.

A war was necessary for him to regain his credit. If we may believe Plutarch, the private defign of his voyage was to kindle one in Asia, and especially to draw the Romans into a declaration of war against Mithridates, the most powerful king in all the East, who was suspected of entering into leagues, and making preparations against the Romans. Marius would have been wonderfully glad of effecting his design, not doubting but he should have the command of the forces employed in that war, gain new victories, and enrich his family with

the spoils of the East.

It is faid, that being at the court of that great prince, and having made him some overtures in the name of the Senate, to sound his intentions, when he found that Mithridates did not answer directly to the point, "It is necessary, Mithridates, (said "he), either that you find a way to become more powerful than the Romans, or submit to the law of the strongest "." The King of Pontus, the proudest prince of his time, and used to the slavish language commonly spoke in king's palaces, seemed surprized at the discourse of that bold republican: but as he was no less a politician than a great gene-

[·] Plut. in Mario.

ral, and that his preparations were not yet compleat, he concealed his displeasure, and sent Marius away

loaded with prefents.

That Roman, after having vifited part of Afia, returned to Rome, where he found but few friends. and yet less credit. His harsh and haughty manners were not becoming in a free state, where every body thinks himself very near upon the level with the best, and where the great ones acquire and preferve their creatures only by their careffes and good offices. He met with the fate of most great warriors, who live to be old in a peace of long continuance; that is to fay, his victories were forgot; and he was looked upon, fays Plutarch, at best, like those old weapons, covered all over with rust, and laid by as useless for the future. Besides, there was a new race of younger generals, who had engroffed all the favour of the public; and among those of the Patrician order the most taken notice of, Sylla, whom we have mentioned before, held the first rank.

We have feen how dextrously that Patrician had at once put an end to the Numidian war, by obliging Bocchus to deliver Jugurtha up to him. It was with the same ability, that, whilst the Romans had their hands full with the Cimbri and Teutones, he hindered the Marsi (a nation inhabiting that part of the kingdom of Naples, now called Abruzzo) from declaring for those Barbarians. No body, next to Marius, whose lieutenant he was, had a greater share in the defeat of the Cimbri, one of whose kings he took prisoner himself.

Marius, jealous of all forts of merit, but chiefly of the characters built on the fame of warlike exploits, forced Sylla, by repeated ill ufage, to quit the fervice. Catullus, who knew his valour and capacity, offered him in his army the fame post he had enjoyed in that of Marius, with the additional promise of reposing an entire considence in him.

Sylla,

Sylla, full of fire, action, and courage, was a great help to him in all the parts that are particularly the general's; and as Catullus was old and flow, every thing fell upon Sylla. He it was that regulated the marches, incampments, detachments of parties. and took care to supply the army with provisions, Nothing was out of his way. And whilft Marius wanted necessaries in his camp, there was so great an abundance in that of Catullus, that his foldiers bestowed quantities very liberally on those of his colleague. It is faid that Marius conceived fo great a jealoufy thereat, that he looked on that generofity as an indirect method of feducing his foldiers, and that it was one of the motives that kindled afterwards that hatred, the consequences whereof were fo fatal to the commonwealth. That hatred began to show itself on occasion of some representation of the victory by figures, and of certain golden images, which Bocchus confecrated in the Capitol. Those images described the manner in which he had delivered Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla. Marius attempted to carry off those monuments, because they seemed to attribute to his quæstor, who was but an inferior officer, all the glory of an event which had happened during his confulship. on his fide, opposed it with all his credit, and an They very near came to insuperable firmness. blows, and this at a time when every thing at Rome was carried by mere force and violence. Every body took party according to his interest or inclination; all Rome was divided; and a matter of fo little moment, maintained on both fides by two proud and haughty men, who hated each other, revived that antipathy between the nobility and people, which derived its beginning almost from the very foundation of the commonwealth. Cabals and factions were formed; each called upon his friends and dependants to affift him. In short, the city was in that turbulent motion, which is commonly

commonly a fore-runner of a civil war, when the death of Livius Drusus occasioned the Social War,

that suspended all those domestic strifes.

It may not be amiss here to explain, in what manner this foreign war took its birth within Rome itself, and afterwards spread all over Italy. Romans were wont to vary their forms of government according to the temper and customs of the different nations that were subject to them. The citizens, whether they dwelt in Rome, or in any part of the country, being registred in the rolls of their tribe, gave their names in to the cenfors, those of their children, their flaves, as also a valuation of their estates; upon which the taxes they were to pay were regulated. None but citizens were allowed to lift in those invincible legions, which made Rome the mistress of the world. They chose their commanders, and their magistrates. They voted for peace, or for war; and the right of voting being attached to the quality of each Roman citizen, made every one a sharer in the sovereignty of the state. The several nations of Latium had either fubmitted themselves to the commonwealth, or had been conquered and fubdued by force of arms. They were obliged to pay the taxes that were imposed on them; and furnished, in times of war, fuch a number of horse and foot, as were demanded of them. In other matters, though in some respect they made a part of the commonwealth, and helped to bear the charges of it; yet were they not admitted to dignities, nor had they any right of voting. It is true, that in dangerous times, in order to bind them the faster to the interests of the commonwealth, some indulgence was shown them in those points; as was particularly done at the time of the second Punic war; left those different nations, which all together, and united, made the greatest strength of the commonwealth, should be debauched by Hannibal, full as

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much skilled in bringing about such a defection, as he was to be dreaded in the field. But as foon as the danger was over, the Romans omitted no means to make them fenfible, that those concessions had been defigned only as occasional favours, from which they were not for the future to claim any right. However, every city in Latium was governed by one of her own citizens, elected by a majority; who, under the title of prætor, adminifired justice to them; and that prætor, after the expiration of his office, was registred as a Roman citizen. That office conferred on him the privileges of nobility; and this prerogative diffinguished that state from all other countries, which were called provinces of the commonwealth; to which a prætor was sent from Rome, to administer justice,

and a quæstor, to levy the taxes.

These nations in the neighbourhood of Rome, as we observed before, had long demanded the right and name of Roman citizens. They remonstrated, that they paid considerable taxes: That in war time, their country alone raifed double the number of forces, to what Rome and its territories did: that the commonwealth owed partly to their valour, that prodigious power to which it was rifen; and that it was but just they should share the honours of a state whose empire they had enlarged by their arms. We have feen above in what manner Caius Gracchus perished, for having endeavoured to obtain that right of Roman citizens for the Latins. The Senate and nobles opposed him; pretending it was not just to make those their equals and fellow-citizens, who were in reality fubjects of the commonwealth. But the true motive of their opposition was, that they could not bear any body should go about to render the party of the people stronger, by making it more numerous with these affociates. The death of Caius did not frighten Drusus, because he flattered himfelf with fuccess, if he took another method, by feeking to make himself the mediator betwixt the two parties; a design, in truth, very commendable; but as much beyond his capacity, as his credit. It was to render himself agreeable to both, rear of that he proposed, during his second tribunate, to restore to the Senate the right of enquiring into the crimes of extortion, which had been conferred on the Equestrian order; and to make that order amends, by letting into the Senate three hundred of them: and by favour of those two laws, he endeavoured to get those of Caius Gracchus to pass, relating to the division of lands, and the right of citizens in behalf of the Latins.

But he found the Senators and the knights equally averse to those proposals *. The Senate seemed to refent, that a Tribune should offer to thrust into that august affembly three hundred knights, who must carry all before them by their numbers: and those of the knights, who had reason to fear they should not be of the three hundred designed for fenators, would not confent that their body should be deprived of a jurisdiction and a tribunal which made them very confiderable in Rome +. So that thefe two orders, tho' otherwise divided in their interests, yet agreed to reject the laws proposed by Drusus. He met still with a stronger opposition about the laws of Caius, which he defign'd to renew. The very name of Agrarian laws stirred up the refentment of those who were possessed of estates in conquered lands: and the great men of Rome, accustomed to that empire they exercised over the nations subjected to the commonwealth, could never forgive Drufus the attempt of making those their fellow-citizens, whom they always look-

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Tit. Liv. 1. 71. App. 1. 1. Orof. 1. 5. c. 18. Autor. de Viris

ed upon/as their subjects. Such opposite interests gave birth to continual disputes in all their affemblies: and as every thing there was carried less by the rules of equity than by the strength and credit of each party, a great body of Latins was come to Rome, to support their protector: but that availed him not; he could not escape the fury of his oppofers. Surrounded by a multitude of people that were about his tribunal, which he had caused to be placed in a dark gallery in his house, he was stabbed in the fide with a knife, which the murderer left in the wound, and of which he died. It was impossible to discover who gave the blow, he being loft in the crowd: but Quintius Varius, Tribune of the people, made himself suspected, by a law which he proposed some time after the death of Drufus. That law declared traitors, and enemies of the state, all such as should propose again to grant the prerogative of citizens to strangers, or nations of Italy that were subjects of the commonwealth.

The death of Drusus, murdered in his Tribu-Year of rights of citizens to those nations, gave Rome birth to that war which was called Social *, 663. or of the Confederates. Those nations, enraged to fee themfelves frustrated of their hopes and pretenfions, by the murder of their protector, resolved to obtain their ends by force of arms. The principal cities first fent deputies to each other privately, to communicate their refentment. they figned a league, and gave each other mutual Every district made a provision of arms and horses: soldiers were listed; generals appoint-T. Afranius, P. Ventidius, M. Egnatius, and Vetius Cato, all officers of great name, were to command different bodies. But before they began

App. l. z. Vell. l. a. Plin. l. z. c. 83.

any acts of hostility, they sent deputies to Rome, demanding, in the name of all the nations in Italy, that were either allies, or dependents on the commonwealth, to be received into the number of Roman citizens.

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The Senate, equally informed of their pretenfions and of their forces, peremptorily refused to hear their deputies; and word was fent them, That they should have no audience, till those that fent them had departed from the confederacy they had lately signed: and they were dismissed with this answer.

The Confederates, upon the return of their deputies, took up arms every where at the same time. At once was seen in the heart of Italy an army of an hundred thousand men, all in conspiracy against Rome: and what rendered those forces formidable, was, that they were commanded by excellent generals, who had been bred and trained up in the Roman armies and discipline.

The Senate, on its part, armed with uncommon speed, and raised a greater number of le- Year of gions than usual. Sextus Julius Cæsar, Rome and P. Rutilius Lupus, both Confuls this year, took the field, and headed each an They had for lieutenants, C. Marius, army. Cn. Pompeius, Cornelius Sylla, and Licinius Craffus; who bore the character of being the ablest generals of the Roman state, and who had all of them commanded armies as Confuls and generals. But the love of their country was the cause that those very men, who had commanded in chief during one year, did not difdain to ferve the following in the same army as lieutenants. To them the title of Proconfuls was given; and though al-

ways dependent on the two Confuls, and their di-

rections, yet they commanded separate bodies, be-

cause of the many places where they had enemies to

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Never had the commonwealth fo many different armies, at the fame time, in Italy before. For fear of a furprize, guards were quartered at all the gates and avenues of Rome, during a war wherein the foldiery of the two opposite parties was dreffed in the fame manner, spoke the same language, and knew each other; fo that it was not easy to distinguish between the citizens and the enemy. Many were the bloody rencounters, battles, and eities taken. Fortune often changed fides, which weakened each of them by turns, without abating any thing of their fierceness and fury. At last, the Senate observing that even the victories gained by the commonwealth were fatal and destructive, and that by destroying its allies, it lost fo many brave foldiers, who before fought its battles; that wife body thought fit to abate of its firmness, yet gave way but gradually, by little and little, that they might still keep up the dignity of the Roman name; and also, by that method, to fow division among the Allies That right and . prerogative of citizens, which had occasioned this war, was at first granted only to the nearest neighbours of Rome, or fuch as had not taken up arms, or offered the first to lay them down. This conduct allayed the fire of the enemies: the confederates distrusting each other, hastened to make their separate peace: and the Romans, on their fide, thought it became their greatness better to abate of their demands in behalf of a divided and weakened enemy, than to have given way to the entire body of the confederacy, even when it was in its greatest strength. At last all these several nations fuccessively obtained the right of citizens of Rome, except the Lucanians and Samnites, their neighbours, a fierce and courageous people, jealous, and enemies of Rome's greatness, and who maintained the war fome time longer *; though it

^{*} App. Alex. l. 1. Vel. Pat. l. 2.

was more an effect of their inveteracy than an argument of their strength. Although the Senate had granted that prerogative to the neighbours of Rome, they almost reduced it to nothing by the manner and articles of the convention. stead of distributing that multitude of new citizens into the old five and thirty tribes, where, by their numbers, they would have been masters of almost all deliberations; the Senate very dexteroufly, and with their own consent, made eight new tribes of them all. And as, by their creation, they were always the last that gave their votes; there was noneed of counting them, when the old tribes did agree. So that this right of citizenship, which had cost the confederates so much blood, was to them scarce any thing but an empty title, without

authority, and without bufiness.

It was not long before they were fenfible, that they had been put all together under the eight last tribes, with no other view than to render their votes ufe-The Senate however flattered themselves that by this stratagem they had restored peace to Italy, and thought of making war in the East; when the jealoufy betwixt the great occasioned a civil war to enfue immediately upon that of the Confederates. Marius, upwards of feventy years. old, had not maintained in this war that great reputation which he had acquired in that against the Teutones and Cimbri; whether because of the heaviness and slowness concomitant to old age, or that forcune had not thrown occasions of fignalizing, himself in his way, cannot be known: for he had even kept himself almost all along on the defensive. Sylla, on the contrary, lively, active and impethous, had gained great battles, taken confiderable towns, and had diftinguished himself throughout this war by fo many and glorious fuccesses, that immediately upon the peace, he had the confulate: conferred on him, as the first reward of his deferts,..

He:

Year of He was afterwards declared governor of Afia Minor, and commander in chief in Rome the war against Mithridates; the mightiest 665. prince of all the East, a great general; but unjust, cruel, bloody, as most conquerors are, and whose empire was mostly made up of states usurped from his neighbours. His forces were proportioned to his defigns and ambition. They reckoned in his armies no less than two hundred and fifty thousand foot, fifty thousand horse, and an infinite number of armed chariots: and his feaports contained more than four hundred ships of Able generals were at the head of those different bodies: but he himfelf was still the prime director of the whole: and where he did not command in person, he alone directed their operations. He had made himself master of Cappadocia and Bythinia, which he had conquered from Ariabarzanes and Nicomedes, the fovereigns of those kingdoms, who were allies of the Roman state. All Thracia, Macedonia, Greece, Athens, most of the Cyclades, had undergone the fame fate. And the Senate having fent to him, to defire he would withdraw his forces from all those provinces which were under the protection of the commonwealth; that prince, to shew he feared neither their power nor refentment, caused in one day above one hundred and fifty thousand Romans to be murdered, most of them merchants *; who, trufting to the peace, had fettled and traded in the East, and in the principal towns of Greece. He threatned Rome itself, and all Italy, with the power of his arms, when Sylla was named to have the direction of the war against him

Marius, whose ambition was yet like that of a young man, and who (as we have feen) aimed at that command, looked on this preference as an in-

^{*} Vel. Pat. 1. 2. c. 18.

justice done to him. It seemed as if all the preferments of the commonwealth did of right belong to him. He resolved to carry that of making war upon Mithridates, from Sylla. He brought over to his interest a Tribune, called P. Sulpitius, an inveterate enemy to Sylla; a great orator, a bold and enterprizing man; who, besides, was much regarded in Rome, upon account of his great riches, and of his vast number of clients; and yet more fear'd for the mischief he could do, and the credit

his office gave him.

These two men, united in the common hatred they bore to Sylla, and the body of the nobility, agreed, before they declared themselves, to try to firengthen their party. To fucceed herein, Sulpitius, who had discovered how much the confederates were diffatisfied to fee themselves ranked in the eight lowermost tribes of the commonwealth. proposed in their behalf to suppress those eight tribes, and to incorporate afterwards all those Italians that composed them, into the five and thirty ancient tribes. He promifed himfelf, from their great numbers, to become mafter of all public refo-The ancient citizens, instructed by the Senate, foon perceived, that if these new tribes were let in amongst them, the strangers, who were but lately admitted among the citizens by favour, would insensibly ruin the credit of those very men who Those consihad conferred that favour on them. derations determined them to oppose the publication of that law. The Tribune, on his fide, supported by those new citizens, whom he on purpose sent for to Rome, was refolved to make it pass by main force: the two parties came to blows; and there were a great number of citizens killed on both fides during the contest. The night coming on, parted the aflembly, before any thing was decided.

The confuls, to postpone the day of another affembly, proclaimed holydays upon different pretences: during which it was forbidden to do any bufiness. Sulpitius, without any regard to those holydays, fummoned the people. He came there himself, at the head of fix hundred of his party, with arms under their gowns; a fort of guards that every-where attended him, and which he used to call the Anti-He fent to the two confuls, fummoning them to come to the affembly, and instantly to revoke the holydays which they had proclaimed; that the people might be at liberty to give their votes about the abrogating the eight tribes, as he had pro-

posed in the last meeting.

This discourse raised a great commotion betwixt the old and new citizens. Those of Sulpitius his fide drew their fwords, and fell on the people, who run away; and the fon of Q. Pompeius, fon-in-law to Sylla, was killed, as he was fuccouring his father *. Pompeius hid himself in the throng: Sylla, purfued, fled into the very house of Marius, having found the door open. Marius, though naturally cruel and revengful, forebore killing a man who had taken refuge in his house: he saved his life. But to preferve it, he was obliged to return to the affembly, and to declare, that he abolished and repealed the holydays. He then withdrew himfelf from thence; and not thinking himself any longer fafe in Rome, where the opposite party prevailed, he quitted the city instantly, and made halte to put himfelf at the head of those troops which he had. commanded in the confederate war, and which were to march under his command into the East, against Mithridates. The holydays being repealed, and both the Confuls fled; Sulpitius, now mafter and absolute in Rome, got without any difficulty the law to pass, that had been the occasion of the tumult : and

^{*} Plut. in Sylla.

by the same law, he took from Sylla the command of the army abovementioned, causing the people to commission Marius in his stead.

That general fent immediately some officers of his party, to take possession of the command till he could go himfelf +: but Sylla had prevented them, as we have related. He had drawn over all the foldiers to his interest, giving them hopes of enriching them with the fpoils of the East *; fo that instead of obeying the orders that came from Marius, they killed his officers, and befought Sylla to lead them against his enemies at Rome, before he transported them to Afia. Marius, incenfed at the death of his officers, used reprifals; caused several of Sylla's friends to be put to death, and their houses to be plundered; which obliged others hastily to quit Rome, and feek a refuge in Sylla's camp. Thefe massacres determined the latter to march strait to Rome. He was at the head of fix legions; whose foldiers, animated with his spirit, sought nothing but revenge and plunder. But feveral officers, averfe to turn their arms against their own country, quitted the service; so that nothing was seen on the roads, but people flying from the city to the camp, to escape Marius's cruelty; and, on the other hand, people that were going from the camp to Rome, to avoid taking either fide in this civil war. In the mean time, Sylla was still approaching; and he was met on the way by Q. Pompeius, his colleague in the confulfhip, who joined him.

Marius and Sulpitius, who had no army to oppose him, interposed the authority of the magistracy, and sent to him Brutus and Servilius, both Prætors, with their adherents; who very haughtily commanded Sylla to stop his march. His soldiers, incens'd at the manner in which those two Prætors. had spoke to their general, broke the sasces and

[†] Idem App. ibid.

[·] Plut. in Sylla.

axes, which the Lictors were wont to carry before those magistrates. They fell upon them, tore their purple gowns: and had certainly killed them, if

Sylla had not prevented it.

The condition those two magistrates were in. when they returned into Rome, made them fensible. that all respect for the laws was laid aside, and that violence and superior power was henceforth to determine all things. Marius and Sulpitius, who knew themselves in no condition to refift a potent and incenfed enemy, dispatched to him, in the name of the Senate, some new deputies, to endeavour at least to retard his march. Those deputies entreated the two Confuls to suspend their anger and refentment, and not to bring their army nearer to Rome than about five miles; telling them, that while their troops were refreshing themselves, the Senate was in hopes of bringing matters to an accommo-

dation, and giving them full fatisfaction.

The two Confuls, eafily perceiving that they were amused only to give time to Marius to raise forces, in order to deceive the deputies, made as if they accepted their proposals *. Sylla, in their presence, commanded his officers to mark out a camp, and to appoint quarters in the neighbourhood they were But no fooner were the deputies gone, but he fent all his horfe at their heels, and foon began his march with his whole army, arriving before the gates of Rome, when his enemies believed him very quiet in his camp. His forces entered the city fword in hand, as they would have done a town taken from an enemy by storm. Marius and Sulpitius, though furprifed, opposed their passage with a body of their party that had joined them; and the people, fearing the town should be plundered, declared in their favour, and threw darts and stones from the tops of the houses on Sylla's soldiers. But

App. Alex. 1. 1.

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that general having threatned to fet fire to them. and taken a torch in his own hand, the people difcontinued those acts of hostility, and remained spectators of the fight betwixt the two parties +. In vain did Marius and Sulpitius call them to their aid; though they promifed liberty to fuch flaves as should arm in their defence, nobody offered to stir; and Sylla's forces still gaining ground, drove them to the temple of the Goddess Tellus, whence they were obliged to fly and quit Rome. Sylla feeing himself master of the city, posted guards in all the open places, to prevent disorder. He even caused fome of his foldiers to be punished feverely, for having entered fome houses to plunder them; and he was himfelf bufy all night in vifiting the different quarters, to restrain the soldiers, commonly infolent upon a victory, and to prevent the citizens being abused.

night in providing for the public safety, their next care in the morning, was to get their conduct, tho' very extraordinary, approved and authorised by some new laws, and to cloath themselves, at least outwardly, with some show of right, which seldom sails those who have the power in their hands. To obtain this, they formed the design of raising a-new the authority of the Senate, which the Tribunes of the people had much impaired by that infinite number of new laws made to savour the people, most of which had been enacted by seditious men,

The two Confuls having employed the whole

the commonwealth, in terms no less moving than lively. He represented to the affembly, That the differences which for so long a time had disturbed the city, and the state, proceeded only from the

and an armed force. With that view they fummoned an affembly of the Roman people *. Sylla, naturally a good orator, deplored the calamities of

[†] Plut. in Sylla. * App. l. 1.

mutinous and turbulent spirit of the Tribunes. who, to make themselves considerable, omitted nothing that could provoke the hatred of the people against the Senate: that those popular magistraies, who had been instituted in the beginning with no other view than to prevent violence which should be offered to any Roman citizen, had imperceivably, and under different colours, rendered themselves absolute masters of the whole administration: that by new laws, unknown to their ancestors, they had found the fecret to reduce to nothing the authority of the Confuls, and the dignity of the Senate: that to cause those innovations and encroachments, which they covered over with the plaufible name of laws, to be tolerated, they had, in the election of magistrates, abolished the custom, established from all times, of taking the votes by centuries; and in the room of that ancient method, had fubstituted that of collecting the votes by tribes, and chiefly in the elections for Tribunes of the people: that by this change, wherein the votes of the nobles, and the rich, were confounded with those of the poor, instead of being told by centuries, the populace was become the mafters of all elections, and that their choice most commonly fell upon feditious men, rather than people of good characters. That to root out abuses so pernicious to the quiet of the commonwealth, it was his opinion. That for the future it should not be allowed that any body of what condition foever, should propose to the people any law that had not been before approved by the Senate. Lastly, That in elections, votes should no longer be taken but by classes, which were a fort of rolls, in which all the citizens were divided by centuries, according to their estates and rank: but the first whereof, confifting of the richest, contained alone more centuries than all the other classes put together; which rendered that first class, when all its centuries agreed, the

the arbiters of all deliberations. Sylla added, That it was needful to forbid the Tribunes making those continual speeches, which were so many trumpets of sedition; and that to reduce within just bounds the tameless ambition of those popular magistrates, it was necessary to enact a solemn law, that should pronounce every citizen, who had bore the Tribunate, incapable of any other Magistracy for the future.

These proposals, coming from a man who was at the head of fix legions, and mafter of Rome, foon acquired the form of fo many laws. Nobody durfe oppose him; all gave way to his authority; and Rome, under his Confulate, affumed as it were a new face. After he had established his authority on a folid foundation, he gave his mind to the revenging his private injuries. We have before faid, that Marius, with the agreement of Sulpitius the Tribune, had caused the command of the army against Mithridates to be conferred on him. Sylla got that decree repealed, and at the fame time that law rerevoked, which Sulpitius had published, and by which he had admitted the Confederates into the five-and-thirty old tribes. All that had bappened then was afcribed to compulsion and violence, whilft he, that complained of it, was in a manner holding a dagger at the throat of his fellow-citizens. Next to this, articles of impeachment were drawn up against C. Marius, young Marius his son, twelve Senators the chief of their party, and the Tribune Sulpitius; for having been the authors of the latt infurrection *. They were absent, and their accufer was the man who then commanded in Rome with an absolute authority; so that they were soon adjudged. They were declared enemies of the Roman state: rewards were set upon their heads: they were interdicted water and fire, which comprehends, in that Roman judiciary stile, all man-

[·] App Alex. 1. 1. de Beilo Cit.

ner of fubfiftence and affiftance from any body; and the decree of the Senate was proclaimed in Rome, and in all the provinces of the Roman state by found of trumpet, ordaining they fhould every where be profecuted at the public charge, and be put to death wherever they could be found. Sylla did at the fame time detach some troops on all sides to hunt them down. Marius however escaped their diligence; but the Tribune Sulpitius was found by some of Sylla's horse in the moors of Laurentum. His head being cut off, was carried to Rome, and nailed to the Roftrum. That terrible fight was an omen of all the blood that the ambition and hatred of Marius and Sylla did afterwards spill in Rome, and the whole Roman state.

The people could not behold the head of one of their magistrates, nailed on his own tribunal, without a fecret indignation: and even the Senate murmured at the profcription of C. Marius, and the other Senators of his party, although they were very well pleased to see the Plebeians humbled. Most of the Senators, jealous of the honour and dignity of their body, could not bear that their colleagues should be proscribed in the same ignominous manner as is usual against thieves and vagabonds. Some privately reproached Sylla, that he fought the death of a man more generous than himself; and that if Marius had delivered him up to those that pursued him, when he took refuge in his house, he had by his death been himself master of the administration. Such discourses afterwards repeated by many, in different companies, alienated the minds of all from the person of Sylla. He experienced it at the election of certain magistrates, where Nonnius his nephew, and Servius, loft their election, for no other reason, than that the people knew them to be creatures of Sylla. He, instead of showing himself angry thereat, affected to make to himself a merit of it. He told his friends, that the little respect which the people had shown for his recommendation

recommendation, was a certain proof that Rome enjoyed a perfect liberty under his confulate; and to maintain the same character still, he suffered that Cinna, of his own family indeed, but of a contrary party, should be elected Con-Rome. ful the year following, who foon gave him cause to repent that feigned moderation, as much contrary to his humour, as it was to his in-

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Cornelius Cinna, though of a Patrician family, had devoted himself to the Plebeian party, where he hoped to be taken more notice of than among the nobility, who abounded in great generals, and able magistrates He was a man without thought, of depraved manners, and precipitate in his under-Yet, as daring and inconsiderate as he was in his engagements, he maintained them with a courage and greatness of foul worthy of a better citizen. He was no fooner entered into his function, but he boafted infolently he would get all the laws made by Sylla repealed. He even obliquely attacked himself; and to try his credit, and the dispofition of the people, he hazarded Virginius, one of his creatures; who had the boldness to impeach Sylla. But that great man flighting equally the meanness of the accuser, and the levity of him that tet him to work, without vouchfafing fo much as to give an answer tow hat was alledged against him, left both his judges and the cause, and set out from Rome for his army, to make war against Mithridates.

He flattered himfelf, that his party would always be powerful enough to keep the new conful in awe, he being a man of no great esteem, and hated befides for his haughty and violent proceedings. But time convinced him, that in domestic strifes, and eivil wars, one ought neither to rely too much on his best friends, nor slight the least enemy. Cinna himself indeed had not credit sufficient to make a new change in the government; but he had friends, men of greater capacity than himfelf, who made him fenfible, that, in order to maintain himfelf against Sylla, he ought to recal Marius, and oppose that great general, so famous by his victories, to Sylla. To effect this, it was necessary to get the decree of his proscription reversed. But the cantelling of so solemn a judgment seemed almost impossible, because of the strong party that Sylla had lest in Rome. Cinna, to balance their credit, and to make sure of the greatest number of votes, undertook to gain the Consederates to his side.

We have feen above, how artfully the Senate had, as it were, banished them into the eight lowest tribes, that their votes might never be of any weight: we have feen likewife, how Marius and Sulpitius, with a contrary view, had incorporated them into the five and thirty old tribes; but that Sylla had again put things upon the former foot: Cinna resolved to revive the law in their favour. fucceed therein, he fent them word underhand they should come in as great numbers as ever they could, and with fwords under their gowns, on the first day that the people should meet. was executed as he defired; and at the day of meeting, the Forum was crowded with fuch a prodigious number of those Consederates, that it was even difficult for the inhabitants of Rome to come near it. Cinna himself got up into the Rostrum, and in a studied speech represented to the assembly, That the Latins and Italians, being the same nation with the Romans, speaking the same language, living under laws very near alike, and exposing daily their lives to maintain the glory and interest of the commonwealth; it was but just to form but one body and one state, of all the different nations in Italy: that to render that union compleat, the eight youngest tribes ought to be suppressed, and the new citizens placed in the old tribes, as chance fhould

should determine it: that it was the only way to maintain peace and union in the different orders of the state, to increase their strength, and make them dreaded by all the enemies of the Roman name *.

This speech of the Consul was received with great applauses by the Consederates †. They loudly, and with great cries, demanded a poll about the passing that law. But the ancient citizens, incensed to see a Patrician, and a Consul too, act the part of a seditious Tribune of the people, did openly oppose the passing of the law. "It ought to be sufficient (said they) for those strangers to be assorted its rights and privileges, and to see themselves now, from subjects they were formerly, become citizens of Rome, without pretending to thrust themselves violently into our own tribes, to out-

" vote us by their numbers."

This contrariety of opinion, and of parties, occasioned disputes, which soon grew up into invectives and feuds; when the Confederates, drawing their fwords, which they had hid under their gowns, fell on the ancient citizens, and forced them to fly and quit the place. Most run to the Senate to complain, and addressed themselves to Octavius, Cinna's colleague in the confulate, a friend to Sylla, and openly of his party. This conful, who had foreseen the defigns of his colleague, under pretence of maintaining peace in the city, had always a confiderable number of his party armed near him. He no fooner heard what had happened in the Forum, but he run thither at the head of Sylla's party. He marched through the people, who opened him a passage, as much out of respect for his dignity, as fear of the great number of armed people that followed him. Octavius, without regarding any body, falls upon the Latins, drives them before him,

^{*} Vell. Paterc. l. 2. c. 20. † Ap. Alex. l. 2. c. 15.

diffipates and puts the multitude to flight. The inhabitants of Rome take up arms, attack the Confederates dispersed in several streets, pursue them close sword in hand, and at last oblige them to

leave the city.

Cinna feeing himfelf abandoned by them, runs all over the town to rally those of his party; and he invites the very flaves to join him, promifing liberty to as many as should take arms in his behalf. The first magistrate of the commonwealth. whose chief office was to maintain peace, omits nothing to ftir up a fedition. But nobody was moved by his threats or promifes. After having made impotent and ufeless efforts, he was obliged to give way to the opposite party. He quitted Rome, and went to join that heap of Italians which came there upon his invitation. He went successively to all their towns in great hafte; to Tibur, Præneste, Nola, and every where animated them to take up arms, and revenge themselves on the Romans. He was feconded by C. Melonius, C. Marius Gratidianus, but chiefly by Quintus Sertorius, an excellent general, who had joined that party to be revenged of Sylla's, for having made him lofe his election, when he stood for the Tribuneship. These Senators, by their intrigues, stirred up the refentment of the Confederates. The war was refolved upon in most towns; the flame soon became general; and Cinna, at the head of this new party, began to raife men and money. The Senate, informed of his evil defigns, paffed fentence upon him. He was Year of declared fallen from his right of a citizen, deprived of his dignity of Conful; and, in Ronne. his room, they elected Lucius Merula, a 666. priest of Jupiter, and one of the best men in the commonwealth.

Cinna's fury increased upon the hearing of this His spirit, naturally proud and fiery, conceived none but destructive projects against his

enemies.

enemies. But as he had occasion for an army to maintain himfelf, he refolved to gain a body of Roman forces, then encamped near Capua, to his

party.

He haftened to that camp, and before they had heard of his deposal, he directed himself to some military tribunes, whom he artfully gained and brought over to his interest. Those officers, in conjunction with him, called the army together. The foldiers were at first furprised to see the Conful appear there without his lictors, fasces, and other tokens of the confular dignity: when Cinna addreffing himself to them: " You see (faid he) in " my person, a strange and unheard-of precedent " of the Senate's tyranny. You had made me " your conful; the people of Rome had conferred " that dignity on me by their votes; and the Senate " deprives me of it, without hearing what I can fay " for myfelf, and even without having confulted " the people After fuch an attempt, what can " you expect will become of your liberties, your " rights, and your votes? and it is on account of " those very votes, whose numbers I have resolved " to augment, to maintain your authority, that I " fuffer these injuries. Had I been less attached " to the interest of the people, I had still been at " the head of the Senate, and you had still feen " me in your tribunal with all the badges of my " dignity; whereas I prefent myfelf now as a fup-" plicant, and as an unfortunate attainted man, " without country, without house, without domes-" tic gods, forced to wander as chance directs, or " to hide myfelf in a country where I have a right " to command."

At the same time he tears his robe, like a man penetrated with the utmost grief: he calls on the gods, avengers of injustice, and throws himself in the ground, ready to run himself through with is own fword, and as if he had refolved not to out ve his difgrace. The foldiers, moved at this fad spectacle, raise him up, and carry him back to the tribunal. Every one encourages him; they appoint him lictors, and restore him the sasces; and the army, gained by its officers, acknowledge him for their conful and general, and take an oath of side-

lity to him +.

Cinna, whom they had hitherto despised at Rome, became formidable; and the defertion of that whole army was taken for the beginning of a civil war. The wo Confuls Octavius and Merula, by order of the Senate, raifed immediately new Some troops were taken into the service from those Confederates who had not embraced Cinna's party; and at the fame time they recalled Cn. Pompeius, father of Pompey the Great then commanded a body upon the coaffs of the Ionic fea, and he came to Rome, encamping before the Collatine gate, to cover the city. But the commonwealth got but little advantage by him, fince that general carried himself so artfully betwixt both parties, in Sylla's absence, that it was never known which fide he favoured. Perhaps he even fought to raife himself upon the ruin of both, which afterwards made him equally odious to both partie

In the mean time, Cinna's party grew daily fironger, many Senators going to his camp; and news was brought at the fame time. that Caius Marius and his fon were upon the road thither. That famous leader of that party had till then lived as an exile in the little island of Circinna, upon the coast of Africa, whither he had fled with his fon, and some Roman Senators, who followed his fortune. We have seen, that Sylla had drove him on of Rome; and that, after his flight, he had been attainted, and a price set upon his head. Caius Marius, upwards of seventy years of age, after six consulships, which he had exercised with as much

† App. Alex. idem. Ibid. c. 2.

authority as glory, faw himfelf reduced to that extremity, as to be forced to fly from Rome on foot, without either a friend or a fervant to accompany him in his flight. After having walked fome way in this deplorable condition, he was forced, to avoid Sylla's people that purfued him, to throw himself in a morass, where he lay the whole night funk and buried in the mud up to his neck. He got out of it in the morning at break of day, endeavouring to gain the fea-shore, in hopes to meet with some vessel that should help him to get out of Italy. But being known by fome people of Minturnæ, he was stopped: he was carried into that town with a rope about his neck, all naked and muddy. The magistrate, in obedience to the decree of the Senate, fent to him immediately a public flave, a Cimbrian by birth, to put him to death.

Marius feeing that flave enter his prison, and judging of his errand by a naked fword which he held in his hand, faid to him with a ftrong voice, "Thou Barbarian, canft thou have the affurance" " to affaffinate Caius Marius *?" The flave, frighted at the found of a name fo terrible to his countrymen, throws down his fword, and flies out of the prison in a very great disorder, and crying out, " It was not in his power to kill Marius." The magistrates of Minturnæ looked upon the diforder and fright of that flave as an act of Heaven, which watched for the preservation of that great man; and, moved with pious fentiments, they fet him free again: " Let him go (faid they) wander-" ing where his stars will guide him, and let him " undergo the fentence of the Senate any where " else but here. We only supplicate the gods to " forgive us, if a superior authority forces us to " drive out of our town the man, who formerly

[·] Plut. in Mario.

" faved all Italy from the incursion of Barbarians." Those of Minturnæ did even supply him with a veffel, which at first carried him into the island of Anaria, where he met with a Senator of his own party, called Granius, and fome more of his attainted friends, who acquainted him, that his fon had taken refuge in the court of Mandrestal, or, as Plutarch calls him, Hyempfal King of Numidia: which determined Marius to pass into Africa. The stormy weather, or, as some fay, want of water, obliged him to put in and go on shore upon the coast of Sicily; and there he met with new dangers. Scarce had he fet his foot upon the shore, when a Roman Quæstor, who had the chief command there, and who by mere chance was there at that time, offered to feize him. They came to blows, and Marius did not escape this danger, but with the lofs of fixteen of his men, who made a stand just upon the store, whilst others helped him to go on board. After fome days fail he arrived in Africa, and landed near Carthage. Sextilius commanded in that province as Prætor; and as Marius had never difobliged him, he flattered himfelf, that he would not inquire after him, nor disturb him in his retirement; but that he should find a refuge where he might recover himself of the great fatigues of the sea. But scarce had he been there a few days, when he faw a Lictor coming, who fignified to him the order he brought from the Prætor, that he should depart his government, threatning to profecute him as an enemy of the Roman state, if he abode there any longer. pierced with grief, and filled with refentment, that he could not find a little corner where he might be fafe, after having seen himself in a manner master of the world, was looking on the Lictor with difdain, and in a deep filence, when being preffed to return him answer: "Go, and tell your master, " (faid he) that you have feen Caius Marius banish-" ed

" ed his native country, fitting upon the ruins of " Carthage:" as if by the comparison of his own misfortunes with the fall of the mighty empire of Carthage, he defigned to remind the Prætor of the uncertainty of the greatest fortunes. He went afterwards on board, notwithstanding the badness of the weather, and rigour of the scason; and he fpent part of the winter in this thip, wandering in those feas, waiting for the return of one of his fervants, whom he had fent to his fon in Numidia, that he might get leave for him to retire likewise in the dominions of Mandrestal. But he was much furprized, when he faw him arrive himself, and heard that he had luckily escaped a refuge, which was foon become a prison to him. That barbarous prince had at first received him with all the marks of respect which all kings used to show the Romans, and which were due above all to the great name of Marius, fo famous all over Numidia: but having understood how matters went, he had refolved to retain the fon as an hostage, which fortune had fent him, and to make himself a merit of it with the party that should prevail. And tho', to all outward appearance, he ftill used him with the fame respect and good manners, young Marius foon perceived that he was a prisoner, and that Mandrestal caused him to be accompanied every where by a great number of Numidian nobles, who never loft fight of him, not to much to do him honour, as to be a guard upon him *. Luckily the young Roman had found the way to the heart of one of the King's wives. Love, in the shape of compassion, made that princess, as it were, a sharer in his misfortunes; and notwithstanding her fecret passion, she was generous enough to procure him the means of escaping. He came to his father, as we have faid; and Marius, informed what was

[·] Plot. in Mario.

doing at Rome by a meffenger from Cinna, refolved to hasten to his army, to endeavour to raise his

party again.

He took shipping again +, and, after some days failing, he landed on the coast of Hetruria, whence he fent to offer his fervices to Cinna, in the like manner as a private citizen would have done to his Conful. Cinna, hearing this great news, imparted it immediately to Quiptus Sertorius, one of his lieutenants, and asked his advice. Sertorius, who was a great commander, but wife and moderate. and who dreaded the rough and revengeful temper of Marius, was not of opinion that he should be received in the army *. He remonstrated to Cinna, that he was powerful enough to triumph alone over his enemies; that no fooner should Marius be at the head of the army, but all the authority would of course devolve upon him; that he would rob him of the honour of all his glorious fucceffes; and besides, that he was a man in whom it was not always fafe to confide. Cinna owned all this to be very just and folid: " But (fays he) which way " can I fend back a man whom I have myself invi-" ted to come to my army, and to join his refent-" ments with ours against our common enemies? " Since it is you (replied Sertorius) that have cal-" led him in, there was no need of this coufulta-" tion; and nothing more is left for you to do, " after you have joined with him, but to watch " his conduct as narrowly as you do the defigns " and undertakings of your declared enemies."

Cinna, after this secret conference, wrote to Marius, inviting him anew to come to his army: he ftiled him proconful in his letter, and he fent him lictors, and all the other infignia of a proconful. Marius came to Cinna's camp; but he fent back the lictors, and all other marks of the proconfular dig-

[†] App. A'ex. l. 2. c. 16. P.ut. in Sert.

nity, as not agreeing to his present circumstances. He affected, on the contrary, to wear nothing but an old gown; his hair and beard rough; he walked flow, and like a man quite oppressed with his misfortunes. But through the difguife of that doleful countenance, fomething fo fierce was difcerned in his vifage, that he rather created terror, than moved compassion.. It was no sooner known at Rome, that Marius was returned to Italy with a design to make war, but more than five hundred citizens went out to meet and join him. He then travelled through all Italy, vifited every town, and proclaimed, that he took up arms with no other view, than to get their citizens received into the ancient tribes, and into the body of the commonwealth. The people, allured with this expectation, gave him money and troops. A great number of Roman foldiers, who had formerly ferved under him. came and offered him their fervice. To increase his army fill more, he proclaimed by found of trumpet, that he would make all fuch flaves freemen as should come under his banner. A great number came in thereupon, to whom he caused arms to be diffributed; and he chose the most likely amongst them to make up his guards.

Cinna and Marius, thinking themselves strong enough to besiege Rome, marched up to it without the least obstacle. Cinna, and Carbo, one of his lieutenants, encamped on the banks of the Tiber, Sertorius above it, and Marius near the sea-side. Their design was to prevent the city from being supplied with provisions. Cn. Pompeius, indeed, had a considerable body of forces, which might have made the city easy on that account; but the conduct of that general was so equivocal, his measures so much studied, and his designs so dark, that there was no depending on his afsistance. He was a little while after killed by a blast of lightning; and it was observed, that they were as well pleased

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at his death in the city, as in the enemy's camp, The Conful Octavius was obliged to take his place. No body doubted of his integrity, nor his good intentions; but he was an unexperienced foldier, and fucceeded a great commander. He was even rather a good citizen than a man fit to govern; fcrupuloufly attached to a fearful observation of the laws, and a stranger to that maxim, that when the welfare of a country is at stake, its governors ought to place themselves even above the laws. He was blamed for refuling the help that the numberless flaves in Rome proffered him; he faid to his officers who press'd him to arm them for the defence of the city, that he would never grant the prerogative of citizens to flaves, when he had taken it from Caius Marius; and that it would be a violation of those very laws, for the defence of which he had taken Bp arms *.

Cinna and Marius, in the mean time, streightned Rome very much, and the very army of Octavius was in a manner befieged. It was impossible to recall Sylla, now at too great a diffance, and having his hands full in the remotest parts of Asia, against Mithridates: fo that the Senate could have recourfe only to a body of forces commanded by Cecilius, Metellus, fon of him who had been stiled Numidicus, who was then making war upon the Samnites, a couragious people, always enemies of the Roman name, and who obstinately sustained the remains of the confederate war, which we mentioped before.

The Senate, who knew the ability and courage of that general, fent him orders to terminate that war upon as honourable conditions as possible; to march his army immediately back to relieve his country; and if he could not clap up a peace, even to leave his troops under the command of his lieutenants, and to come himself to affist the Consul in

[.] Piut. in Mario,

his camp. Metellus hereupon fends to the generals of the enemies to make proposals*; but as in the treaty he always would preserve the dignity of the Roman name, Marius arrived whilst the negotiation was carrying on flowly, and offered the Samnites such advantageous conditions, that they declared in his favour; so that Metellus, despairing of concluding that peace, left his forces to his lieutenants, and

went himfelf to Octavius's camp.

The foldiers of that Conful, who despised him as much as they valued Metellus, demanded the latter loudly for their general +; and openly declared, that as foon as they should have so brave a man at their head, they should not fear repulsing all the efforts of their enemics, and faving Rome and the commonwealth. But Metellus, as modest as he was brave, refused those seditious applauses with indignation; he. upbraided the foldiers with want of discipline; and this he did with fo much feverity, that most being provoked at his usage, went over to Marius. Which thows that, in a civil war, the heads of parties can never manage foldiers too tenderly, because their own example makes them mutinous; and that commonly they do not think themselves guilty of serving against their country, when they obey generals, and lift into troops of their own nation.

Marius, to make the diforder in Rome still greater, proclaimed near the walls of that city, that he would set all those slaves free who should come to serve in his army; which every day drew a great number thither. The common people, on the other hand, who will have bread, come whence it will, did loudly complain, that the Senate, for their own private interest, kept up a war which endangered their wives and children to starve. Even the greatest number of those Senators, who at first appeared the most zealous, did now preserve but a cold, though scem-

[•] App. Alex. l. 1. c. 16.

ing respect for the party. And as it is rare to meet with much faith in a civil war, because of the mutual ties between the two parties, nothing else was feen but deferters and fecret negociators going to and fro between the city and the camp, to make

their private agreements.

The Senate feeing its party and authority daily declining, and fearing a general infurrection, thought it time to come to a parley. Deputies were fent to Cinna to make him fome overtures of peace *. Cinna, before he would heart hem, fent to afk, whether they had orders to acknowledge him for one of the Confuls of the commonwealth; or whether they defigned to treat with him upon the foot of a private person? The deputies having no instructions touching so nice a point, returned to the city for fresh orders. The Senate, puzzled at Cinna's quefrion, scarce knew what course to take. It seemed unfeafible to depose so honest a man as Merula, who had been raifed to that dignity without fo much as putting up for it. On the other hand, the people, pressed by hunger, called loudly for bread; and it was to be feared, would let the enemy into the city. Merula's generofity extricated the Senate: of himfelf he laid down the confulthip; and by his demiffion, the Senate, being free of their last obligation, fent new deputies to Cinna, as to a Conful of the Roman state. Cinna received them in his Tribunal with all the tokens of the first magistrate of the commonwealth. The deputies invited him, in the name of the Senate, to enter Rome, and into the functions of his dignity; and stipulated no other condition with him, than that he would be pleafed to spare the blood of his fellow-citizens, and to take an oath, that he would put none of them to death but according to law, and conformably to the usual course of justice. Cinna refused to take that oath;

[·] App. id. ibid.

but he protested, that he would never give his confent to the death of any citizen. He even sent word to the Consul Octavius, that he would not do amiss to retire somewhat from Rome till all was settled peaceably. Marius was standing next to Cinna's tribunal; he did not speak to the deputies; but his silence, a sierce look, and his eyes sparkling with rage, told them sufficiently, that that man, always furious in his revenge, breathed nothing but blood and slaughter.

Metellus, seeing the affairs of Rome desperate, would not enter the town. He rather chose to banish himself from his country, than to own Cinna's authority; and he retired into Liguria towards the sea-side. Octavius, on the contrary, protested, that since he was Consul, he would not quit the city: he placed himself in his consular babit on his tribunal, surrounded with his lictors; and there he resolved to expect whatever fate his enemies should assign him.

Cinna and Marius advanced to the gates of Rome at the head of their forces. Cinna entered first, accompanied with his guards; but Marius halted at the gate, and when his friends intreated him to enter, he told them, That fince he had been banished by a public decree, it was necessary he should be recalled by a like one. That cruel and favage man still made a shew of bearing respect to the laws. They were obliged, in compliance with him, to call the people together in the Forum; but scarce had two or three of the eldest tribes given their votes, when he, impatient to fatisfy his cruel temper, and thinking the ceremony too long, threw off the mask, and fell upon the city with a band of his guards, murthering fuch as he had named to them, wherever they found them. Caius, and Lucius Julius, Serranus, P. Lentulus, C. Numitorius, M. Fæbius Craffus, all Senators of great note, murdered in the streets, were the first that were sacrificed to Marius's refentment. He caused their

heads to be carried and laid upon the Rostrum: and, as if he defigned to pursue his revenge even beyond death, he ordered that their mangled bodies should be left in the street, to be devoured by dogs. Of the two Confuls, Octavius was killed on his tribunal, contrary to Cinna's promife; and Merula, knowing he was profcribed, had his veins opened, to rob his enemy of the cruel pleafure of determining the kind of his death. But as he was a priest of Jupiter, and that, by the laws of their religion it was not lawful for persons of that character to die with the mitre on their heads, they found after his decease a writing, expressing, that before he died, he had had the precaution to lay down that facred ornament, that he might not (faid he) profane it with his blood. Marcus Antonius, whose sheltering place had been discovered by Marius's guards, was murdered next: he was a noted Senator, of a Plebeian family, and who pretended to derive his origin from one Athon, fon of Hercules; but his family was become more illustrious from this Senator, who had been Conful and Cenfor, and was reputed the best orator of his time. Quintus Catulus, another Confular, and famous for his victory over the Cimbri, in which he shared with that tyrant Marius, having understood that he was proferibed, thut himfelf up in a room, and there stifled himself with the vapour of charcoal, that he had ordered to be brought thither. Rome faw every day fome of her worthiest citizens perish, whom Marius's ruffians murdered without any mercy. That band of furious flaves, whom he had made the instruments of his vengeance, did nothing else but murder the heads of families, plunder their houses, ravish the women, and carry off children. At the least fign of Marius, they stabbed such as came before him: they had even orders to kill all those on the spot, to whom he did not return their falute; so that his very officers and friends never

came near him but in fear, and uncertain of their fate.

Amidst so much bloodshed, Marius used to complain that the chief victim had escaped him, and that his vengeance was imperfect, fince he could not extend it to Sylla himfelf: but that general was both too distant and too powerful to have any thing to fear from the cruelty of his enemy. The tyrant, to give vent to his rage, endeavoured to hurt him in what he knew the most dear to him. He caused his wife Metella to be strictly enquired after, who was a daughter of Metellus Numidicus, as likewise his children, to put them to death. It was by a mere lucky accident they escaped the fury of that monster. The principal friends of Sylla got them out of Rome, and conducted them as far as his army. Marius, enraged at their flight, extended his vengeance upon the most insentible and inanimate things. He caused his house to be razed, and his goods to be confiscated; and whilst Sylla was adding large provinces and kingdoms to the Roman state, he was not ashamed of having him declared an enemy of the commonwealth. The Senate, who knew how to call any thing law, and adapt their decrees to the pleasure of the prevailing party, made no difficulty to declare him guilty. They revoked all the laws which they had passed during his Confulship; ready to do the same with Marius's decrees, if the opposite party got uppermost. Cinna and Marius got themselves Year of at the same time chosen Consuls for the Rome, year ensuing, thereby to strengthen themselves with the authority of that sovereign magistracy against the resentment and the armies of Sylla, whose return into Italy they much dreaded *. And indeed his wife, children, friends, and all those that were profcribed, and had fled to his camp, fol-

Plut. in Sylla.

licited and entreated him daily to turn his arms against his private enemies, and to free his country of those tyrants who so long had oppressed it. But Sylla, fuperior to private refentment, thought it more honourable to fight the enemies of the on state, than to ruin the affairs of the commonwealth purpose to indulge a precipitate and private revenge; and he resolved to make an end of his foreign enemy, before he turned against his domestic foes. In the mean time, he wrote a long letter to the Senate, wherein with a lively stile he recited his fervices, and the injuries done him, and ended it with complaints mixed with threats *. "You know, " Confcript Fathers, (faid he), all the labours we " have undergone in different climates, for the fer-" vice of the commonwealth. As Quæstor in Numi-" dia, Military Tribune in the Cimbrian war, Pro-" prætor in the Confederate war, and now as Pro-" conful against Mithridates, I have always fought " your battles with fuccefs. I have vanquished in " many engagements, the generals of that power-" ful foe of the Roman name. I have drove his " garrifons out of all Greece, and hope foon to " confine him to his ancient dominions of the "kingdom of Pontus." He added, that for a reward of his fervices, the Senate, at the inftigation of his enemies, had fet a price upon his head; his friends had been put to death; his wife and children forced to fly from Rome, to fave their lives; his house had been pulled down; his estate confiscated; and the laws abrogated which he had enacted during his Confulship: but that he hoped soon to return to Rome, at the head of his powerful and victorious army; and that then he would have his revenge, both for his public and private injuries.

This letter, and the news daily arriving from Sylla's army, that that general defigned to turn his

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arms against the two Consuls, gave them a great deal of uneasiness. Marius, loaded with years, and his body exhausted with the hardships sustained in war, feared he should be obliged to take the field again; and was more averse to it, when he considered that he should meet a powerful enemy, a great general, always successful, yet in the vigour of his life; who was expeditious, diligent, and unwearied, and who had drove him out of Rome once before.

He called to mind all his past misfortunes, his flight, his banishment, the dangers he had run by fea and land; and dreaded being exposed to the fame hazards again in fo advanced an age. These melancholy thoughts continually befet him, and made him incapable of fleep. It was to procure that, and to divert those difmal thoughts, that he abandoned himself to excessive drinking. He endeavoured to drown his cares in wine, and he never thought himself easy, but when he had lost his reafon. This new kind of life, and his great excesses, gave him a pleurefy, of which he died on the fevententh day of his feventh Confulship. One historian seems to intimate, that he hastened his own end; but doth not tell in what manner *. He only relates, that Marius, one evening after supper walking with some of his friends, did for a long while discourse them upon the chief events of his life; and that after he had related all that he had experienced and felt of good and bad fortune, he added, that he thought it unwife in a man of his years, to trust any longer to so unconstant a goddess: that having ended that discourse, he embraced all about him with a tenderness very uncommon to him; that he went thereupon to bed, where he died a few days afterwards.

^{*} C. Pifo in Plat.



THE

HISTORY

OFTHE

REVOLUTIONS

That happened in the Government

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK XI.

After the decease of Marius, C. Marius, his son, unites firmly with Cinna and Valerius Flaccus. This last having been declared Consul, crosses over into Asia with an army against Mithridates, pretending that the war which Sylla made upon him, was without the approbation of the Senate. Fimbria, Lieutenant to Valerius Flaccus, kills his general. Sylla makes peace with Mithridates, and marches against Fimbria, who, abandoned by his soldiers, runs himself through. Sylla returns into Italy, where he finds an army superior to his own, and

and commanded by experienced officers, headed by L. Corn. Scipio, and C. Junius Norbanus, the two Confuls for that year. With cunning and money he debauches Scipio's army to his party; and triumphs over that of Norbanus by his valour. Young Marius is chosen Conful. He challenges Sylla to a battle, and is defeated. He sbuts himself up in Preneste, where his antagonist besieges him. After the ruin of his party, Prenefte is at last obliged to furrender to the victorius Sylla. Marius endeavours to get off by subterraneous passages, together with a young Samnite, who commanded the troops of his nation in the town; but having found no issue, those two generals mutually kill each other. Sylla declared perpetual Dictator; rids himself of his enemies by cruel proscriptions. He divests himself of the sovereign power, and dies a private man. M. Emilius Lepidus, who. during Sylla's life, had been attached to the Pairician party, becomes the head of the Plebeians, after the death of the Dictator. Having had the government of Gallia Cifalpina at the expiration of his Confulfbip, he raises an army there, with which he comes to encamp close by Rome, where he is defeated by Catulus. He retreats into Sardinia, and dies there. Pompey is fent to Spain, where, after some ill successes against Sertorius, he has at last the glory of ending that war, by causing Perpenna's head to be cut off. An army of flaves, commanded by Spartacus, obtain several victories over the Roman Legions. They are defeated by Crassus, and their general killed. The pyrate war ended by Pompey.

THE greatest number of the Roman citizens thought they came to life the second time, when they heard Marius was dead. But their joy was of a short continuance, for they soon perceived that they had only changed their tyrant. Young Marius inherited his father's cruelty, as well as his power;

power; and he celebrated his funeral with the death of many Senators, who had escaped the first fury of the proscription. This young man entered into a close league with Cinna, and perfuaded Valerius Flaccus into it, who was a creature of Ma-Year of rius. They even got him named to fucceed him in the Confular Dignity; and Rome. this new magistrate, to gain the favour of 667. the multitude, proposed a law which declared debtors free upon paying to their creditors the fourth part of the principal. They afterwards confulted how they should prevent Sylla's return; and, for that end, agreed to fend an army into Afia against Mithridates, under pretence, that the war which Sylla had made upon him was difowned by the commonwealth; and that the authority of that general, profcribed by a decree of the Senate, was Cinna made Valerius fensible, that it was their common interest, that he should-take that task upon him; and he flattered him with the hopes, that Sylla's foldiers, feeing a Conful in those parts, would foon defert to his eagles: or at least, that his army would keep that of Sylla in some awe, and retard their march to Italy, if he had the boldness to attempt it, while he was so near him.

Valerius marched from Rome with two legions. He was a man of a tyrannical and violent spirit, proud of his new dignity; cruel in punishing the private soldiers, and odious to the officers, whom he treated with too much scorn: he was incapable of gratitude, because he ascribed all the complaisance that was shown him, to the mere fear of his power and resentment. As Cinna was not much convinced of his abilities, he appointed for his lieutenant a Senator, called Fimbria, to assist him, being as much esteemed by the army for his valour, as Valerius was hated for his harsh temper. These two chiefs were not long together before they fell out. The Lieutenant, sensible of the want of abilities

lities in his general, did not fufficiently respect his dignity; and the Conful, noways regarding the merit of an officer of fo great distinction as Fimbria, was for turning military fubordination into The transition from this to flavish obedience. broils and animolities was eafy; and fcarce were they arrived in Asia, but their misunderstanding was open, and showed itself on occasion of some quarters which the Quæftor of the army and Fimbria contended for *. The Conful joyfully laid hold of this opportunity to mortify his lieutenant, and gave it for the Quæstor. Fimbria, enraged at this preference, threatned him publicly to quit the fervice. Valerius, to show him that he could do without him, gave his post that instant to another. This fecond affront made Fimbria quite mad. The foldiers, who loved him, referted the injury that was done him; the whole army rofe up in a tumultuous manner. Valerius, instead of using his authority, and by his prefence endeavouring to bring them to their duty, fled in a cowardly manner; and that general deferting his own army, threw himfelf into a neighbouring town, and hid himself at the bottom of a well. Fimbria, hurried away by his paffion, purfues him, enters the place, got him out of the well, and with his own hands kills his Conful and his general. To fortify himself against Cinna's refentment, he caused the whole army to take an oath to him, knowing that he should at any time get himself declared guiltless, as long as he should be at the head of his legions; and that the bare apprehension of his going over to Sylla's party, would make them connive at his crime,

As he was a man of courage, and a great general, he obtained confiderable advantages over Mithridates and his lieutenants †. He followed close

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^{*} App. Alex. de bello contra Mithridatem, c. 5.

[†] Idem App. ibid. Vel. 1. 2. c. 24.

upon that prince himfelf, whom, after a defeat, he forced to abandon Pergamus, a city of Troas, and to retreat to Pitane, a strong place, where he could receive supplies by sea. Fimbria nevertheless befieged him there; but having no fleet to shut up the harbour, he wrote to Lucullus, who commanded that of Sylla, to fail up to it, and to contribute, notwithstanding the difference of parties, to the taking of the greatest enemy of the Roman state. Mithridates had been infallibly undone, if this lieutenant of Sylla would have acted in conjunction with Fimbria. But for all the honour he would have gained by the taking of fo great a monarch, he did not think fit to undertake any thing without the knowledge of his general. Perhaps too he made a scruple to have the leaft correspondence with a man who had fo lately murdered his Conful. So that Mithridates not being obstructed on the sea-fide, got out of the place, and continued the war with various fuccesses against Fimbria and Sylla too, tho' he had already entered upon a fort of a treaty with the latter.

Sylla had in less than three years retaken all the towns in Greece; defeated Taxiles, Archelaus, and Doriles, generals of Mithridates, who commanded in Beotia an army of above a hundred thousand men, in two general battles near Cheronea and Orchomene: and he vanquished those formidable armies with no more than fifteen thousand men, and at a time when he could hope for no supplies from Rome, where the party of Marius reigned. But as a prosperous war never fails of supplying the victor with necessaries, his victories had brought into his camp plenty of every thing that was good and valuable. His army increased, men came from all parts to fight under his banners, and Afia was an inexhaustible treasury to him. Sylla, with those Supplies, and at the head of a victorious army, might have carried his conquests a great way if his uneafiness

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uneasiness about the transactions at Rome, and the desire of raising his party again, had not outweighed in his mind the advantages which he might reasonably promise himself from the continuation of this war. He had firmly resolved however not to quit Asia, before he had forced his enemy, either by arms, or a treaty, into the bounds of his ancient dominions. Whilst he was thus deliberating with himself, Mithridates, who on his side was not less violently disturbed in mind, and who seared that so great a general, and so fortunate in all his undertakings, should drive him quite out of Asia, sent private orders to Archelaus, one of his generals, to endeavour to clap up a peace upon any terms.

Archelaus made some overtures to Sylla*, by means of a merchant, who, on account of trade, had free access to both the camps. A negotiation was set on foot insensibly, and the two generals, after some preliminaries settled, met in a place they had agreed upon. Archelaus, not ignorant how much it imported Sylla to be at liberty to go for Italy, proposed him to unite his interests with those of Mithridates; and that his master would supply him with money, troops, and shipping, to make war

upon Cinna and Marius.

Sylla, without seeming to resent such proposals, did on his side advise him to withdraw himself from the slavery he lived in under an imperious and cruel prince. He proposed he should take upon him the title of king in his government, and offered to procure him the name and advantages of an ally and a friend of the Romans, if he would deliver into his hands Mithridates's sleet, which he commanded. Archelaus rejected this proposal with scorn, and gave the Roman general to understand, that he took it very ill of him to think him capable of such a treacherous action. When Sylla, taking upon him

[·] Plut. in Sylla.

that air of greatness and dignity, so natural to the Romans*; "If being but a slave, (said he) or at "most but an officer of a Barbarian king, you think it a base action to quit the service of your master; how durst you be so bold as to propose the relinquishing the interest of the commonwealth to
such a Roman as Sylla? do you take things to be
upon the level betwixt us? have you forgot my

"victories? have you forgot, that you are the same

"Archelaus whom I have defeated in two battles; and whom, after the last, I forced to go hide him-

" felf in the moraffes of Orchomene?"

Archelaus, confounded with fo haughty an anfwer, was no longer the same during all that negotiation; Sylla got the better of him, and like one animated by victory, dictated the terms of the treaty. He told him, that if Mithridates would have peace, that prince must quit Asia Minor and Paphlagonia, reftore Bythinia to Nicomenes, and Cappadocia. to Ariobarzanes; pay the Romans two thousand talents for the charges of the war, and deliver feventy gallies into their hands. Upon these conditions, Sylla obliged himfelf, on his fide, to get Mirhridates confirmed by the Senate in the possession of all his other dominions, and declared a friend and ally of the Roman people. The treaty being concluded on these terms, an account of the articles was fent to Mithridates. That prince returned it immediately back to Sylla by his ambafiadors, who told him, that their mafter would willingly fign it, but that he could not part either with Paphlagonia, nor his gallies. Sylla answered them sternly; " You " fay that Mithridates will retain Paphlagonia +, and " refuses to furrender the gallies to me; to me, who " have reason to expect he should throw limself at " my feet, to thank me for not cutting off the hand

[.] Plut, in Sylla. App. in bello contr. Mithrid. c. 16.

[†] Plut. in Sylla.

"with which he had murdered fo many Roman citi"zens. But he may perhaps speak in another tone,
"if I can but meet with him." The ambassadors, confounded, answered not a single word. But Archelaus, taking him by the hand, intreated him to moderate his anger. He only desired time of him to
go to the king his master, and assured him, that he
would bring the ratification of the treaty with him,

or kill himfelf in his presence.

Archelaus, having obtained Sylla's word for fuperfeding hostilities, made great haste; and being come before Mithridates, he fo lively described the strength of the enemy, and the dangers he exposed himself to, by continuing the war against so great a general, that his mafter, though as inveterate as ever against the Romans, was soon made sensible, that it was his interest to suspend, at least for a while, the execution of his vast designs; to wait till some favourable incident freed him of Sylla. and put him in a condition to refume the war with a better prospect of success. With that intent he fent Archelaus back again to Sylla, to affure him, that he was coming himself with the ratification of the whole treaty; and only wished to have an opportunity to discourse him before he returned to Italy. Mithridates wanted this interview, because his peace with Sylla did not free him of the war which Fimbria carried on against him; and he wanted to confult with him, in what manner he should deal with this adventurer, who did not acknowledge Sylla's authority.

Sylla having agreed to this interview, they met at Dardanum, a town of Troas. Mithridates approaching the Roman general, held out his hand to him, as a token of his friendship. Sylla before he made any return to his civility, asked him, Whether he accepted of the peace upon the same condition that Archelaus had agreed to? Mithridates, astonished at the pride and haughtiness of

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the Roman general, after having faid fome things to justify the war he had begun, declared, that he ratified the treaty in all its parts. Hereupon Sylla embraced him, and presented Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes to him, whose restoration he had stipulated in the treaty. He affured him at the fame time, that he would foon put Fimbria out of a condition to give him any further uneafiness. They afterwards parted, having given each other fome external marks of esteem and friendship, things so infincere among the great, and chiefly between enemies newly reconciled.

How advantageous foever this treaty was to the Romans, and chiefly to Sylla; yet did his forces murmur greatly against it. The soldiers, who had not the same reasons, as their general, to return to Italy, complained that he did not finish the defeat of an enemy, who was no longer in a condition to

refift him. Sylla, to justify his conduct, made them fensible, that if he had rejected the proposals of peace, Mithridates, upon his refusal, would not have failed to agree with Fimbria; and that if those two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him, either to abandon his conquests, or to venture a battle against troops much superior in number, and commanded by two great generals, who might in one fingle day have wrested from him the fruits of all his victories.

Sylla then marched straight against Fimbria, and marked out his camp very near his. He then immediately fent him a fummons, to furrender up to him, as Proconful, the command of an army, which he had obtained by the blackest of crimes, without the confent either of the Senate, or the Roman people. Fimbria fent him word, that his authority was equally illegal, and that every body was acquainted with the decrees made against him at Rome. Then the two generals applied them-

selves to the fortifying of their camps: but as the foldiers of both parties were of the fame nation, and most of the same city, instead of charging each other when they met in foraging, they faluted one another courteously. Some came even fecretly from Fimbria's camp, unknown to their officers, into that of Sylla, to fee their friends and kindred. These clandestine visits occasioned at last Fimbria's ruin. Sylla's foldiers, instructed by their general, won those of Fimbria by under-hand presents. Thefe, being returned, corrupted others: many, taking advantage of the night, got fafe out of their own camp to that of the enemy. The defertion became almost general: the traitors, fearing no longer either reproach or punishment, carried off their colours, and by whole companies deferted to Sylla, Fimbria finding himfelf betrayed, and abandoned by the greatest part of his army, sent to demand an interview with Sylla. But that general, invested with the proconfular dignity, not thinking it became him to put himfelf upon the level with an adventurer, only fent one of his officers to him, called Rutilius. Fimbria at first complained bitterly, that Sylla should refuse that to one of his fellowcitizens, which he had granted to a Barbarian king; and after having faid fome things to justify himself concerning the murder of the Conful Valerius, he asked Rutilius, what favour he might expect at Sylla's hands? The officer answered him, that Sylla, as Proconful, demanded him to depart forthwith out of a province, of which the government belonged to him. He added, with a coldness mixed with disdain, that he should have leave to go to the fea-fide to embark fomewhere. Fimbria, judging, from fo harsh an answer, that his death was refolved upon, answered him resolutely, that he knew a shorter way; and immediately returning to Pergamus, and entering into the temple of Esculapius, he run himself through with his own sword. But the

the wound not proving mortal, he ordered one of his flaves to dispatch him, who immediately killed himself upon his master's body. The remainder of his forces listed in Sylla's army; and that general leaving the care of raising money to Lucullus, and the command of the troops to Murena, began to march his army towards Italy.

As foon as the two Confuls, Cinna and Year of Carbo, heard of his coming, they ordered Rome, young Marius, and other heads of their 670. party, to raife forces, and recruit the Legions; they required the affiftance of the Samnites, and formed different armies to oppose their common enemy. Cinna was refolved to meet him before he entered Italy, and to carry the feat of the war into Dalmatia. He immediately caused some forces to be transported thither; but the rest of his army refufing to go on board, it occasioned a mutiny in his camp. During the tumult, a foldier, who was one of the chief ringleaders, whom he would have put under arrest, run him through with his fword, and killed him. Carbo feeing himfelf deprived of his colleague, under various pretences prevented the election of another Conful in Cinna's room, that he might be fole mafter of the administration. He continued fole Conful till the end of that year, when Lucius Scipio and Norbanus succeeded him.

In the mean time, Sylla continued his march; and after many and long fatigues, and different imbarkations, he arrived at Durazzo, others fay at Pairas, where he found the fleet that was to transport his forces to Italy: but before he let them imbark, he called them all together. After having extended the valour and good behaviour which every foldier and officer had showed during the whole course of the Asiatick war; he gave them by some inquendo's to understand, that he was somewhat suspicious, they would be apt to disperse

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as foon as they should find themselves on their native shore. But his soldiers, moved to see him fear any thing from them that was derogatory to the love they bore their general, took a new oath, promising to follow his ensigns as long as the civil war should last. They even assured him, they would never violate the military discipline; and each offered to deposit in his hands all the gold and silver they had gained in the war against Mithridates, as a pledge of their faith.

Sylla refused their offer; he returned them thanks, and gave them hopes that they should be nobly rewarded. He landed soon afterwards at Brundusium*, without meeting with any obstacle from the enemy. There the army stayed awhile, to recover themselves of the satigues of the sea, and then began their march in search of the enemy.

Metellus Pius, who, under the confulate of Octavius, had retired into Liguria, during the tyranny of old Marius †, joined Sylla's army with a handfome body of troops, which he easily raised by means of the general esteem he had acquired among the soldiers. He commanded them, as a proconful, according to the use of those days, which left that title to all that had not been in Rome from the time of their being invested with that dignity.

Sylla, who bore no superior title, received him as his colleague, though, on account of the superiority of his forces, and the glories of his victories, he still retained the chief command. Marcus Craffus, of the Licinian family, proscribed by Marius and Cinna, had joined him before. As soon as Sylla entered Italy, he gave him a commission to go into the country of the Marsi, to make new levies there. But as he could not get thither without passing through several places, where parts of the enemy's army were quartered, he defired a guard

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Brindes. † App. de bell civ. l. 1. c. 19.

thither. But that general, who was willing to accustom his officers to bold enterprises, answered him fhort *: "I give you for guards your father, " your brother, your kindred and friends, who " have been murdered by our tyrants, and whose " death I come to revenge." Craffus, moved at this discourse, departed immediately, got safe thro' feveral bodies of the enemy's forces; raifed a great number of troops by his credit, and that of his friends; came back with them to Sylla, and shared with him all the dangers, as well as the glory, of this war. But of all the fuccours which came to him from feveral parts of Italy, Sylla was pleafed with none fo much, as those that Cn. Pompeius, afterwards firnamed the Great, brought to him +. He was not yet three-and-twenty years old; yet without any public character did he raife an army in the Picenum t, where his father had a great many clients and friends; and he made almost all the towns of that district declare for Sylla. His army confifted of three legions !: Brutus, one of the heads of the contrary party, opposed his paffage: the two armies engaged. Brutus his horfe, most of them Gauls, charged first: Pompey set his cavalry against them; and advancing himself at the head of a fquadron, killed the Commander of the Gauls with his javelin. He then fell on, sword in hand, upon those squadrons, terrified at the fall of their chief. That cavalry being pushed vigorously was drove back upon their own foot, who thereby were broke: Brutus, with all his endeavours, could not get them to rally again; and Pompey, after having cut part of them down, and dispersed the rest, opened himself a passage, and at length joined Sylla, in spite of two other bodies that endeavoured to prevent him.

[·] Plut. in M. Craffo. + Vel. Pat. 1, 2, c. 18. The Mark of Ancona. | Plut. in Pomp.

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That general, feeing this young Roman arrive at the head of his victorious army, alighted off his horse, to do him the more honour, and embraced him tenderly. All were aftonished, that Sylla, the proudest among the Romans, should give a youth, who had yet no feat in the Senate, the title of Imperator, an honour usually bestowed in those days on none but fuch generals of the commonwealth as had obtained some considerable victory. But Sylla, without heeding the laws and customs of military discipline, thought, that in the circumstances he was then in, it was buying a man of that credit very cheap, fince it cost him only an empty title of honour: and indeed he had never been in more want of affistance. He had not brought back with him from Asia above thirty thousand men; and his enemies had four * hundred and fifty enfigns of foot in several bodies, besides their cavalry; and those commanded by fifteen general officers, at whose head were L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Junius Norbanus, who, as Confuls for that year, had the chief authority.

These armies even increased daily, through the fear people were in of Sylla's resentment. No body doubted but he would Rome take a severe revenge, and shed a vast deal of blood, if he could master Rome. And 670. although there were still two parties in the city, that of the Senate, and that of the people; a fear of the enemy without, and their common interest, which is the surest bond of union, made them all agree against a power they dreaded; except the friends and adherents of Sylla, who, to avoid the cruelty of young Marius, sought an asylum in the

camp of his adverfary.

Sylla, as well versed in intrigues and secret negotiations as in military affairs, seeing himself sur-

^{* 200,000} men,

rounded with for many different armies, joined craft to his valour. L. Scipio, one of the Confuls, was encamped very near him: he fent to him, to make some overtures; and, in order to persuade him to an agreement, his deputies represented artfully to him, That Sylla was much grieved at the calamities to which the commonwealth must be expased by a civil war, which-ever party prevailed: and that he only defired, in order to enable him to lay down his arms with honour, that his estates, and the title only of the dignities which had been unjustly taken from him, should be restored to him.

Scipio, who was fincerely disposed to peace, misled by fuch plaufible propofals, feemed fatisfied with them, and only defired time enough to communicate them to his colleague Norbanus, who commanded another army. During that interval, there was a truce betwixt the two camps. Sylla's foldiers, by favour of this truce, infinuated themfelves into Scipio's camp, under pretence of viliting their friends; and with bribes brought over many to their party. Sylla had before taught his foldiers that trick, as we have feen above in Fimbria's affair: which made Carbo fay of Sylla, That in him he had to encounter both a fox and a lion; but that the lion gave him much less trouble than the fox.

Sylla being now fure of a great number of Scipio's foldiers, presented himself before his camp at the head of twenty cohorts. The foldiers upon guard, instead of charging him, faluted him, and called him their general, admitting him at the fame time into the camp. He made himself master of the whole, without drawing a fword: and all this was fo fuddenly executed, that Scipio knew nothing of it, till he was arrested in his own tent by Sylla's foldiers, who carry'd him and his fon to their genêral.

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general. Sylla would not fuffer that any harm should be done to them *. He, on the contrary, used all his endeavours to gain the Consul, and perfuade him to declare for him; but finding him unshaken, he generously set him again at liberty, giving him leave to go where he should think sit, on condition that he should not again take upon him the command of any forces against him.

This stratagem having had so good success, he fancied he might deal as well with Norbanus, the other Conful. He fent deputies to him to demand a conference: but Norbanus, grown wife by the miscarriage of his colleague, detained those deputties, and marched his army that moment to Sylla's camp, with a defign to fall upon him unexpectedly. Sylla had not time fusicient, upon the approach of the enemy, to range his men in order of battle. Yet his foldiers, no ways daunted, though they had fcarce any thing to direct them but their own courage, fought with fo much refolution, that Norbanus, after having loft more than feven thoufand of his men, was forced to make a hafty retreat, very little different from a flight +. He threw himfelf into Capua with the remains of his army, with an intent to defend that place, if Sylla undertook o beliege it.

The remainder of the campaign was on both fides employed in fecret negotiations. Each party endeavoured to gain the allies of the other. Syila, a great mafter in that art, fent confiderable fums to the countries at the very foot of the Alps, in order to gain the Cifalpine Gauls; and his agents brought him thence a powerful fupply. His enemies, on the other hand, fent Sertorius to Spain, who by his valour made himfelf mafter of part of those large provinces, which afterwards were a refuge

^{*} App. Alex. de bell. civ. 1. 1. c. 20. Plut. in Sylla. † Idem, App. ibid.

and retreat to those of that party. Young Marius at the same time determined the Samnites to declare in his favour. Those people raised forty thousand men, and gave the command of them to Pontius Telesinus, the ablest warrior in their nation, and who had acquired much honour in the Confederate war. So powerful a succour was less occasioned by their attachment to Marius his party, than a consequence of their ancient jealousy of the power of the commonwealth: being too weak to encounter the united strength of Rome, they did not declare for one party, but with a view of undoing both the more easily; or, at least, to weaken a neighbouring state, that was become too powerful and terrible

They foon after proceeded to the election of new Year of Confuls at Rome. Papirius Carbo was chosen for the third time : and young Ma-Rome rius, the nephew, others fay the adopted 671. fon of the great Marius, was appointed his colleague, though he was not yet fix and twenty years of age. They thought it advisable to raise him to that dignity, notwithstanding it was against law and custom, that they might have at the head of the party a person, whose name was held in great repute, and the memory of whose father might keep the people attached to their interest. The armies took the field as foon as the feafon would permit in the spring. Marius, at the head of eighty-five cohorts, offered battle to Sylla. That general, who had a fecret intelligence in the enemies camp, accepted the challenge. Both armies fought with great bravery. The foldiers of each fide were resolved to vanquish, or to die; and fortune had not yet declared for either, when some fquadrons of Marius's army, and five cohorts of his left wing, that had been bribed with Sylla's money, caused a confusion by their unseasonable flight, as they had agreed with Sylla to do. Their example drew many others after them; a general terr r ftru.k

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ftruck the rest of the army, and it was at last more a rout than a battle. Several cohorts were cut to pieces. The great name of Caius Marius, the father, did no ways lessen the glory of the son. That young man showed in battle all the abilities of an old experienced general, and the undaunted courage of a young officer. He rally'd his forces several times, led them on again, and retired one of the last from the field of battle. At length perceiving that his whole army was either cut to pieces, or dispersed, he threw himself into Præneste, a strong place, which had declared for his party *.

This was the greatest overfight he could have been guilty of; especially fince he had yet several armies that kept the field, and were at his command. Sylla, who flattered himfelf he should put an end to the war, by taking the general, instantly invested Præneste: he caused lines, strengthened with redoubts, to be thrown up; and the circumvallation being perfected, he left the care of the blockade to Lucretius Ofella, one of his lieutenants, whom he had gained over from Marius's party by his management. Sylla posted some troops at all the defiles through which fuccours might be thrown into the place; and encamped in fuch a manner, that he covered at the fame time those advanced troops, and the blockade. He afterwards marched with a detachment towards Rome The favourers of Marius, frighted at his defeat, had fled the city. Sylla entered without any opposition. inhabitants, famished and oppressed with all the calamities that attend a civil war, opened him the gates. Sylla, having made himself master of the place, called the people together, complained of their having fuffered themselves to be missed by the malice of his enemies; and after having exposed to fale the goods of Marius's followers, he return-

^{*} App. ibid.

ed to his army, to try, by the taking of that captain, to put an end to the civil war. Marius, in despair for having thut himself up in Præneste, and delivered himfelf, as it were, into the hands of his adversary, attributed the cause of all his in sfortunes to a fecret correspondence which Sylla had kept up among his adherents. He fent an order to Brutus, Prætor of Rome, to make away with fuch as he suspected; and the Prætor, in obedience to that cruel profeription, caufed L. Domitius, Mutius Scævola, the high-prieft, and an excellent lawyer, and P. Antistius, to be stabbed as they came out of the Senate. People were aftonish. ed to find C. Carbo, brother to the Conful, included in this profcription. It is probable, that Masius would not have ordered, nor Brutus dared to have executed that command, without the knowledge and confent of the Conful himself; at least he showed not the least resentment at it *. So true it is, that in the heat of civil wars, the ties formed by nature herfelf, are too weak to unite those whom ambition or interest has divided.

And indeed the murder of Carbo, though by order of Marius, and, as it were, in the very prefence of his brother, did not hinder that Conful from employing all his industry to raise the blockade of Præneste. It was now become the grand object of this war. Carbo, having refolved to throw fuccours into the place, fought a whole day against Sylla's army, without succeeding in his attempt. Whilft they were engaged, Marcius, another general of Marius's party, at the head of eight legions, attempted to force the defiles in another quarter: but he found Pompey in his way, who repulfed him, and cut part of his forces to pieces. Metellus had foon after the fame fortune against Carbo and Norbanus. Those two generals having

^{*} App. Alex. l. 1.

joined their forces, and made a hafty march tocome upon him unawares, reached his camp in the evening, which they immediately attacked. Metellus, who justly was reputed one of the best commanders of his time, made them fensible, that a good general is never to be furprifed. ' He had placed his camp on a ground furrounded with thickfet vines, which ferved him for pallifadoes. Carbo and Norbanus attacked this camp with greater heat than good order. Their foldiers, embarraffed in those vines, could not form themselves. into battalions; and for that reason were in some diforder, when they reached the foot of the intrenchments. Metellus's foldiers, from the top of those intrenchments, killed a great many with their darts; and feeing them broke, they made a fally, where a great number more were flain. The darkness of the night hid the shame of those that sled; and fix thousand, that could not readily enough difentangle themselves out of those vines, furrendered to Metellus. Another legion that was near Metellus's camp, upon the news of that defeat, followed their example in spite of Albinovanus, who commanded it, and who alone returned to Norbanus. But he did not long continue thus faithful; as if his return was with no other intent, than to betray his general in a yet more infamous manner. He some time after invited Norbanus to a banquet *, together with his lieutenants C. Apustius and Flavius Fimbria, brother of him that killed himself in Asia. He invited to the same entertainment the chief officers of the party; and in the middle of the banquet, he caused them all to be murdered, except the general, whom some business. had prevented from coming. After fo base an action, the affaffin went to furrender himself to Sylla with all the accomplices of his crime. Norba-

^{*} App. ibid.

nus, quite hopeless, after so many misfortunes, and not longer knowing who to trust, went on board a small smack, which carried him to Rhodes. Sylla sent immediately to demand him of the Rhodians: and whilst the magistrates were deliberating what to do in so nice an affair, Norbanus, fearing to be delivered into the hands of his enemy, killed him-

felf in the middle of the public place *.

Carbo met with no better fate. He again tried feveral times to give Marius an opportunity of getting out of Præneste, but always miscarried. Lucullus, one of Sylla's lieutenants, who was returned from Asia, defeated part of his army near Placentia; and Pompey, near Clusium, cut to pieces twenty thousand men, that were left him after so many encounters. The Conful, not thinking himfelf strong enough to keep the field, quitted Italy, and embarked to pass over into Africa. But after having been toss'd to and fro upon the sea for some time, he fell into Pompey's hands, who, to cut up the root of the civil war, put him to death. Of that great number of chiefs, that had followed Marius's party, there remained only Carinas, Marcius, and Damaappus, who were yet at the head of four le-These Romans, being obstinately resolved to continue the war, joined Telefinus, general of They together agreed to make a last the Samnites. effort, and either to perish, or to relieve Præneste. Telefinus advanced boldly with a defign to force the lines. He had above fixty thousand men, all Samnites, and fworn enemies of the Roman name, or Roman foldiers, who could expect no fafety, but by the defeat of the opposite party. Sylla, at the head of a victorious army, advanced to meet them; and he fent orders to Pompey, who commanded another body, to follow Telefinus, and to fall on his rear, whilft he should attack him in

[.] App. ibid.

front. But whilft these two generals were making thefe movements, Telefinus outwitting them both, gave them the flip; and by a counter-march during the whole night, advanced towards Rome, which he knew to be defenceless. His army, in hopes to plunder that mighty city, marched with fo much eagerness, that their van was discovered in the morning from the hills near Rome. Never was a furprize equal to that of its inhabitants. They faw themselves just going to fall a prey to an army of strangers, who, under pretence that Sylla had been admitted therein, would not fail of revenging their deferting their party with the massacre of all the citizens, and plunder of the whole town. The gates are immediately thut; the men arm themselves, and line the walls with engines and archers, whilft the women, all in tears, run to the temples, to implore the affiftance of the gods. Fear and diforder increases, as Telefinus comes nearer to the city *. He was a second Hannibal at the gates of Rome, and already thought himself master of it. He then pulled off the matk; he no longer conceals that implacable hatred which he bore the Romans: as much an enemy to Marius as to Sylla, his defign was to deftroy Rome, and to bury the very last of its inhabitants under the ruins. walked through all the lines and ranks of his army; "We must, (said he), cut down that forest, where " those ravenous wolves take shelter. Let fire and " fword destroy all; spare nothing: mankind can " never be free, as long as any Romans shall be " left alive." His troops, fired by this difcourfe, advance furiously. All the Roman youth that were in the city made a fally, under the conduct of Appius Claudius; not so much to hinder the approach of fo powerful an army, as to defer the ruin of the city, and to give time to Sylla to come

to its affistance. The Romans behaved themselves like men who fight for the defence of their country, in the fight of their fellow-citizens, of their wives, and of their children Appius was flain in the action; and those that fought under him could now expect no better fate, confidering the inequality of their forces, when feven hundred horse were feen to enter Rome, whom Sylla had commanded to haften on a full gallop, and throw themselves. into the city. They were no fooner arrived, but they marched out at another gate, and joined those that were engaged with the foremost of the Sam-Sylla was marching up with all the diligence which his infantry would permit; and he was in the greatest agony and concern, when he confidered that Rome, the price of all his victories, was in danger of falling into the hands of strangers. At last, he arrived about noon, and encamped near the temple of Venus. Hardly had he granted a few minutes to his foldiers to recover themselves of their fatigue *, when he called them. again to arms, and regulated the order of battle. He gave the command of the right wing to M. Craffus. The left he chose for himself. Most of his officers endeavoured to perfuade him to put off the battle till next day. They reprefented to him, that on the fuccess of this undertaking depended his whole fortune; that his troops, fatigued by a hafty march, had occasion for rest; especially being to fight against the Samnites and Lucanians, warlike nations, from whom the Romans never got any thing but blows. But Sylla, over-ruled by his courage, ordered to found to battle, and marched directly against the enemy. The fight was bloody and obstinate, chiefly on the left wing, where he himself commanded. The Samnites fought with an uncommon valour, puthed his forces, and broke

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^{*} App. l. 1. Plut. in Sylla.

fierceness

them. Several cohorts, and entire legions, not able to bear their shock, gave way and fled. Sylla haftens to rally them; he prefents himself sword in hand before the runaways to stop them. But the foldier frighted, has no regard to any command; every one, to fave his life, endeavours to get into The inhabitants, fearing left the victor should enter together with the vanquished, shut the gate on that fide, and let fall the portcullis, which killed several Senators of Sylla's army. It is reported, that that general, in this imminent danger, took out of his bosom a medal, or a small statue of Apollo, which he constantly carried about him; and as danger and fear usually awaken religious fentiments, 'ris faid, that he made the following speech to it, as to his tutelar god. " O thou who hast " brought off Cornelius Sylla victorious out of fo " many battles; Hast thou conducted him through " fo many victories, to the very gates of his native " city, with no other end, than there to make him " perish with shame?" He then rallied those of his foldiers that had been shut out of the city gate; they, though fatigued, but forced by necessity, faced the enemy again. The fight began again with fresh fury; nothing but night parted them. Sylla, difconfolate at his ill fuccefs, and not knowing how things had fallen out at the right wing, retired to his. camp.

It was late in the night, when Crassus sent him word, that he had overcome the enemy on his side, and pursued them as far as Antenna; where, because of the night, he had been forced to encamp. Sylla went thither by break of day; and after having given to his lieutenant, and his troops, all the praises which so great a service deserved, he went to view the field of battle, which he found covered with more than sifty thousand slain. Among the rest, they took notice of the body of Telesinus, wherein were yet seen the marks of that great courage and

fierceness which he had shown during the battle. Eight thousand were taken prisoners, whom Sylla inflantly caused to be shot to death with darts. Marcius and Carinas*, having been stopped in their flight, had their heads cut off; and Sylla fent them to Lucretius, as proofs of his victory, and with orders to have them carried round the walls of Piæ-The inhabitants and the garrifon, having heard of this defeat, and of the flight of Norbanus and Carbo, and feeing themselves without any provisions or prospect of relief, opened their gates. Marius endeavoured to make his escape through fome fubterraneous passages, together with a young Samnite, brother of Teletinus. But having found all the iffues of them that opened in the country t, guarded by fome of Sylla's foldiers, those two chiefs killed each other, that they might not fall alive into the hands of their enemies. Sylla caused all the inhabitants to be put to death, except the women and children. Those of the town of Norbe, who, after a long fiege, and an obstinate resistance, saw themfelves just going to undergo the same fate, set fire to their habitations, and then killed one another, not only that they might deprive the foldiers of the plunder, but also not to leave it in Sylla's power to dispose of their lives. The taking of this place put an end to the civil war; and Sylla, victorious over fo many different enemies, entered Rome at the head of his troops. Happy had he been, if in peace he had preferved the glory that he had now acquired in war, or if he had ceased to live at the same time he ceafed to conquer!

Sylla's lieutenants made themselves masters of all the cicies in Italy, and put strong garrisons in all those places that had formerly declared for Marius. What was left of so many armies, that had been opposed to Sylla, sent him deputies, desiring quarter.

[·] App, ibid.

He fent them word, that he would spare those who should make themselves worthy of it, by putting their companions to death: a way of profcribing entirely new, which obliged those unfortunate men to turn their arms against each other. A great number were deftroyed in this manner. Six thoufand, that escaped this massacre, came to Rome, Sylla caused them to be shut up in the Hipodrome *; and at the same time summoned the Senate to the Temple of Bellona, which was in that neighbourhood. As he was naturally eloquent, he spoke of his great exploits in very magnificent terms. Whilft all the Senate was listening to his speech, his troops, by his command, entered the Hipodrome, and maffacred the fix thousand just mentioned. The Senate, unacquainted with his orders, amazed at the cry of those unfortunate men that were murdering, looked aghaft, thinking that he had delivered up the whole city to be plundered by his fol-But Sylla, without being moved, or altering his countenance, told them coldly, they need not be uneafy at what they heard without; that it was only a pack of villains, whom his foldiers were punishing by his order. Thus he talked of the troops of the contrary party; and we are told, that in the next affembly of the people, he declared with a fevere and haughty mien, that he defigned to treat all his enemies in the like manner, and would not pardon one, of what condition foever; and in departing from the affembly, he caused the names of forty Senators, and of fixteen hundred knights, whom he profcribed, to be put up in the market-place.

Two days after, he proscribed forty Senators more, and an infinite number of the richest citizens of Rome. He declared the sons and grandsons of those that he had proscribed infamous, and deprived of all their rights and privileges. By a public de-

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^{*} Plu. n Sylla.

cree he ordained, that whoever should protect or harbour one of the profcribed, should be themselves profcribed in their stead. He fet a price upon the heads of all that were profcribed, and promifed two talents for the murder of each of them. that had affaffinated their mafters, received the fame reward for their treason; and, to the shame of human kind be it spoken, children were found so barbarous, as with their bloody hands to claim that reward, for having murdered their own fathers. Lucius Catiline +, who, to possess his brother's estate. had caused him to be killed, defired Sylla, whose adherent he was, that he would be pleafed to fet down that brother, whom he had killed a long while before, among the attainted, that by that stratagem he might palliate his enormous crime. Sylla having granted him his request, Catiline, to show him his gratitude, went that moment to Marcus Marius, brother to the great Marius, killed him, and brought his head to the public place. While his hands were yet befineared with the blood of that unfortunate man, he entered the temple of Apollo, which was near, and washed them in the lustral water, that he might add impiety and facrilege to murder and affaffination.

This cruel proscription did not reach only those of Marius's party. Sylla, who counted a man's life for nothing, permitted his friends and officers with impunity to revenge themselves of all their private enemies. Great wealth became a crime; and whoever had the name of being rich, was not innocent. Quintus Aurelius, a peaceable citizen, who had always lived in a happy obscurity, without being taken notice of, either by Marius or Sylla, perceiving, to his great astonishment, that his name was down in the fatal lift, where the names of the proscribed were wrote, lamenting himself, said, "Ah me, un-" happy wretch! it is my fine house at Alba that

[†] Plut. in Sylla.

" causes my death." And a few paces farther he was affaffinated by one who had undertaken to do Every day fresh numbers were proscribed and murdered, and nobody was fure of living a day. In this general calamity, C. Metellus alone took courage to ask Sylla in the full Senate, when he defigned to put a ftop to those cruel and destructive proceedings *. "We do not require, (faid he), that " you should forgive any of those that you have " resolved shall die; but pray free us from an un-" certainty worse than death itself, and let us know " at least, who it is you defign to spare." Sylla, without feeming to take that bold fpeech any ways amifs, answered him very coolly, That he had not vet fixed the number of those he designed to give their lives to: but that as to the others, he had at first proscribed such as his memory presented to him; that he referved to himself the liberty of doing the fame for the future, just as his memory fhould continue to fuggest to him the names of his enemies. He afterwards proferibed whole nations and towns, instead of naming any private persons. He feized, by a fort of confifcation, on all the estates, houses and territories of all the towns in Italy, that had declared for Marius during the civil war. He therewith rewarded his foldiers, whom thereby he the stronger attached to his fortune and interest. But as those usurpations, and several others to be mentioned hereafter, were not likely to be very lafting, those that had the benefit of them infinuated to him, that he should take upon him the dictatorship, in order to give the force of the law, and a colour of right to the alterations he made in the republic.

We have faid therefore, that after the Romans had abolished kingly government, they yet had preferved, in some sense, the likeness of that dignity in

[·] Plut. ibid.

that of the dictatorship. The power of that sovereign magistrate was boundless. The authority of the Confuls, and other inferior magistrates, except that of the Tribunes, was entirely superfeded by it. He had power of life and death over his fellow-citizens; he was free to raife and to disband forces when he thought proper, and without being bound to give reasons of his conduct to any body Fourand-twenty Lictors, carrying the fasces, walked before him, when he went abroad; and the general of the horse followed him every where. The nomination of that office was entirely in the Dictator. and he was in the nature of his lieutenant. In a word, the Dictator had all the power and show of a king. But as he might have made a wrong use of fo absolute a power, perhaps greater than ever the ancient kings of Rome had, nobody was invefted with that dignity, but in the greatest dangers of the commonwealth; as when it was attacked by powerful enemies, or was diffurbed by great intestine commotions; and care was taken never to invest any body with that power, so much feared by republicans, for a longer time than fix months at most. Sylla, absolute in Rome, would have it for an undetermined time. And thus did the Romans, who had changed kingly government into the republican, under Confuls and Military Tribunes, relapfe again, after many ages, under the abfolute power of one. Though Sylla, to lessen the aversion republicans must have to such a government, had masked over a true royalty with the less. odious title and dignity of the dictatorship *.

But the Romans were too clear-fighted, not to perceive, that under ancient and familiar names there was arisen a power quite new, and inconsistent with liberty, Sylla being perpetual Dictator, or, to speak more properly, the king and absolute

^{*} Cicero in Rulliana, tertia. Id. l. r. de Legibus.

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himself with a surprizing considence in the assembly of the people, demanding to be declared priest of Jupiter. Sylla not only caused him to be rejected, but resolved besides to proscribe him. It was not without a great deal of trouble that his friends obtained his pardon; and as they told Sylla, that he

a former marriage of his wife Metella with Scaurus. It was by virtue of the fame fovereign power, which he exercised indifferently over all the Romans, that he strove to compel Julius Cæsar, nephew of Marius, to be divorced from his wife Cornelia, daughter of Cinna: but Cæsar, tho' but a youth, had the boldness to resist him. He even presented

could have nothing to fear from such a youth, it is faid, he answered, That in that man, as young as

^{*} Plut. in Craffo.

he was, he could difcern a great many Marius's. The relations and friends of Cæfar hearing of this reply, and knowing how much Sylla hated all that had any the least relation with Marius, perfuaded him to leave Rome, whither he did not return till

after the death of Sylla.

From those domestic cares the Distator passed to the civil government, and the regulating of the He admitted into that body three hundred knights, to fill up the room of that vast number of Senators that had perished in the civil war, or by his profcriptions. But that he might at the fame time leffen the authority of the knights, he took from them the right of enquiring into the erimes of extortion and peculate, which C. Gracchus had conferred on them. He at the same time increased the number of Plebeians with ten thoufand flaves, who had belonged to perfons proscribed, giving them the name of Cornelians, that they might ever remember the author of their liberty. He afterwards published feveral laws, some of which were new, and others the same which he had formerly passed during his Consulship, and which had been abrogated by Marius and Cinna. His principal defign was to reprefs the ambition of fuch who attempted at once to arrive to the chief dignities of the ftate, and to leffen, at the fame time, the authority of the Tribunes of the people, whom he had always greatly opposed. He ordained by the first of those laws, that nobody should be admitted to the office of Prætor, who had not been a Quæstor before; and that no citizen should be chosen Conful, but who had been Prætor before; nor obtain the fame dignity a fecond time, till ten years after the first time. By a second law he excluded those who should have been Tribunes of the people, from all other magistracies; which made that dignity, which used to be the next after the Dictatorship,

and the most powerful in the commonwealth, very

little regarded.

He had these laws passed in assemblies of the Roman people. They all voted for them; nobody durst be of an opinion contrary to that of the Dictator; and the example of Lucretius Ofella show'd, how dangerous it was either to oppose him, or not tamely to fubmit. Lucretius was one of Sylla's Lieutenants, who had done him some of the most important fervices. It was he who had befieged and taken Præneste, and reduced Marius the younger to the fatal necessity of killing himself. That officer aspired to be chosen Consul, though he had never been Prætor. Sylla sent him word to forbear infifting on his pretenfions, as being contrary to the new laws he had established. Lucretius, relying on his fervices, did not imagine that those new laws ought to affect Sylla's lieutenants; and having a powerful party among the people, he appeared on the day of election as one of the candi-Sylla, offended at his proceeding, caused him to be stabbed on the spot by one of his captains. The people, ignorant of the cause of this murder, fell upon that officer, and dragged him. before the Dictator to have him punished. Syllar commanded him to be fet at liberty, and directing, his speech to the people *: "Know, Romans, (faid: " he), That it was by my special command that " man was killed, because he refused to obey me, " and that every one shall meet with the same " treatment, who shall offer to transgress my laws " and ordinances." The people, frightned to fee themselves under so tyrannical a government, went. home.

However, this man, who had usurped fo absolute a power, and who, to arrive thereat, had undergone so many hazards, and fought so many battles, took it all on a sudden in his head to lay it

^{*} App. Alex. l. 2. c. 2 Plut. in Sylla.

down again. Sylla, after having destroyed more than an hundred thousand of his fellow-citizens in the civil war, after having caused ninety Senators, of which fifteen had been Confuls, and more than fix-and-twenty hundred knights, to be maffacred; that man, I fay, whose chief passion had been revenge, and who had fatiated it with fuch a prodigious quantity of blood, was daring enough to divest himself of the sovereign power. He laid down the Dictatorship, and uncompelled reduced himself to a level with a private citizen, without fearing the refentment of fo many illustrious families, the heads of which he had deftroyed by his cruel profcriptions. On the contrary, it is related, that immediately upon laying down the Dictatorship, he cried out aloud in the middle of the Forum, that he was ready to give an account of his whole administration *. He at the same time fent away his Lictors, difmiffed his guards, and after that continued walking in the Forum with fome of his friends, and before the multitude; who, firuck with aftonishment, looked on fo unexpected a change, as on a prodigy. In the evening he returned home by himfelf, and like a private man; no one among that great number of enemies he had created himfelf, daring to infult him. was in that prodigious city but one young hairbrained fellow, who publicly affronted him; who followed him as far as his house, calling him names. Sylla difdained to return him any answer; and only in a manner prophetically faid, That the infolence of that young fellow would be the cause, that if any body after him arrived to the fame degree of power, he would not lay it down fo eafily as he had just done. The Romans in general deemed this fo furprizing abdication to be the greatest and last effort of magnanimity and heroism. His profcriptions were forgot; they gladly forgave him

his many murders, for the fake of liberty which he

restored to his country.

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His enemies, on the other hand, attributed for great a change to the natural uneafiness of his mind, and the continual fear that some Roman might be bold enough, at one stroke, to deprive him of the empire and life too. Whatever was the true one among all these different motives, Sylla, after having shed so much blood, died as quietly in his bed, as the most peaceable citizen of the commonwealth could have hoped to do. He composed his own epitaph a few days before he died; and therein we find his true character. It was thus in substance: "That nobody had ever "outdone him, either in obliging his friends, or "in persecuting his enemies."

His abdicating the Dictatorship shewed, that ambition and desire of reigning had not been his predominant passion; and that he had seized on the sovereign power, only that he might more surely revenge himself on his enemies. But the dangerous example of a simple citizen, who had found means to raise himself to empire, and maintain himself therein, made those that follow'd him sensible, "That "the Romans could bear a master;" which was

the ground of more revolutions.

Scarce were the eyes of Sylla closed, but M. Emilius Lepidus, first Consul, undertook, in imitation of him, to render himself master of the government. But though his ambition might be equal to so great an undertaking, neither his credit nor his abilities were sufficient. He was a man little esteemed by the foldiery; more a courtier, than a commander; a deep dissembler; and one who had raised himself, by doing many little and ungenerous things. Though he had declared himself for the nobility, who seemed to him the most powerful party; or, to speak more properly, though he had stooped to Sylla's absolute authority; the Dictator,

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tator, who knew him perfectly well, and mistrusted him, would never suffer him to be chosen Consul. But after he had laid down the Dictatorship, Pompey, who now bore the greatest sway, deceived by rear of the seigned attachment of Lepidus, openly favoured his election: and on the day of the Comitia, he caused him to be nominated first Consul, preferably to Q. Catulus, his colleague, and son of that Consular whom

Marius had put to death

It is related, that when Sylla saw Pompey returning from the election with a joyful countenance, and pleased that Lepidus, whom he thought his creature, not only was elected, but had also had the preference above Catulus; he said to him aloud, "Are not you ashamed, young man, to applaud yourself for having got such a man as Lepidus chosen first Consul; and that to the prejudice of Catulus, one of our best citizens *?" He afterwards warned him, That he must expect to find in Lepidus at best a very weak and doubtful friend, and perhaps a dangerous enemy; who, if he could find his advantage in it, would turn even against his benefactor that authority which his imprudence had procured him.

The conduct of Lepidus foon made it plain, that Sylla was no ways mistaken in his character, not-withstanding he had very much endeavoured to conceal himself. But he had scarce taken possession of the consulthip, when it was discerned that he endeavoured, by sowing new divisions, to make himself master of the sovereign power, and usurp the same

authority as Sylla had done.

We have feen more than once in this history, that the great men of Rome had commonly, to gratify their ambition, made use of one of these two pretences; viz. the interest of the people, or that of the Senate. Both ways were open to Lepidus. It is true, that, as we observed before, to accommodate

⁺ Plut. in Sylla.

himself to the present state of the commonwealth. he had declared for the patrician party: but those were weak ties for an afpiring man. And besides, as he found that Pompey, Metellus, Craffus, and even his colleague Catulus, all men of more weight and credit than himself, were the chiefs of that party; he thought that he should have a greater number of adherents, if he went over to Marius his party, most of whose chiefs had been destroyed in the civil war, and which subsisted no where but in the ancient antipathy of the plebeians against the patricians. It was in order to revive that party, that he proposed to abolish some of the laws made by Sylla, Catulus, his colleague in the confulship, opposed him with a great deal of courage and refolution. two parties thereupon declared each for one of the confuls. Lepidus, to strengthen his party, and bring over the nations of Italy to his fide, fent them word, that he defigned to reinstate them in the five and thirty ancient tribes, and restore to them those lands which the Dictator had taken from them to reward This declaration did not fail of increahis army. fing his party very much. Rome faw herfelf again on the brink of being the theatre of a civil war: but the Senate interposed its authority, and made both Confuls promife upon oath, that neither should take up arms against the other during their confulate.

Lepidus thought himself disengaged of his oath as soon as his consulate expired, at which time the government of Gallia Cisalpina was allotted to him*. He immediately began to raise an army there, and got into his party Brutus and Perpenna, both prætorians; who each had the command of a considerable body of forces, and were incamped near Modena. Lepidus, strengthned with this supply, and seeing no army in Italy that could with-

^{*} App. l. 1. c. 25. Plut. in Pompeio.

stand his, marched strait to Rome, in hopes of being a fecond Sylla, if he could make himfelf mafter of the city. The Senate, apprized of his march and defigns, put themselves in a condition to keep him out. Legions were foon lifted. Catulus, who was appointed general, incamped without the gates. Lepidus, to swell his party, caused some papers to be spread about in Rome; wherein he invited the people, and Marius's party, to come out to join him. But as they had no great opinion of his abilities nor courage, and that the people moreover could not brook the defign of incorporating the Italians into the ancient tribes; not a man stirred in his behalf. Yet, as he was too far advanced to go back again, it foon came to a battle; and Catulus, at the head of the legions, and of all the nobility then in Rome, charged him fo briskly, that after but a short refistance, he cut part of his army to pieces, and forced the other to run away. Lepidus, in despair at this ill fuccefs, after having wandered about some time in difguise*, and been forced to conceal himself in several parts of Italy, at last went over to Sardinia, where he had fome friends. Perpenna, one of his lieutenants, went afterwards to him, with the remains of his army. Several of Marius's party likewife joined him. He made new levies: he grew infenfibly more confiderable; and in a little while faw himself again at the head of a new army defign was to carry the war into Sicily; where he had fecret correspondents. But soon afterwards, news was brought that he died of grief; having intercepted a letter, which left him no room to doubt of his wife's difloyalty. His party fell with him. Brutus had met with no better fate. That captain, not being able to get into Sicily, and join Lepidus, had thrown himself into Modena, with some troops that were under his command; lefs with a defign

^{*} App. l. 1. e. 25.

to continue the war, than to have time to compound and obtain better terms. And indeed, Pompey having orders to befiege him there, no fooner appeared before the place, but Brutus opened him the gates, and made no other agreement, than to have the liberty to retire in fafety to a little village upon the banks of the Po. Pompey confented. He even wrote to the Senate, that the quickness of Brutus's fubmission had ended the war: yet, in violation of the treaty and his word, he fent ruffians a few days after, to stab him in that very village which he had chose for his retreat: whether because he learned that he was again fecretly caballing with Lepidus; or whether that young general, trained up in the cruel politicks of Sylla, thought it unfafe to let any chief of that party live*. Perpenna, after the death of those two chiefs, got together the remains of their army; and finding himself at the head of fifty three cohorts, he marched them into Spain. His defign was to fettle there, to make war on his own account, and without depending upon any fuperior; following herein the example of Sertorius, a general of great fame, who yet maintained the party of Marius in Lufitania.

Sylla had caused the government of those vast provinces to be given to Metellus, one of his lieutenants. The Senate, fearing he would not be able to withstand those two chiefs, if they joined their forces, sent Pompey to his affistance with fresh succour †. Pompey, in whom the Senate confided entirely, and who, since Sylla's death, was reputed the first general of the commonwealth, soon began his march, and carried with him those very troops that so often had defeated those of Marius's party. The soldiers of Perpenna, who had no great opinion of his military skill, hearing that Pompey was coming against them, took their arms and their en-

Plut. ibid. † Plut. ibid.

figns, and, without asking Perpenna's advice, cried out, that it behoved them to join Sertorius ‡: that they had occasion for so experienced a warrior to command them; and that if he refused to conduct them to his camp, they would find the way to it themselves, and carry their ensigns along with them. Perpenna was enraged at this general defection; but not thinking himself fafe any where but with the companions of his rebellion, he was forced to follow them. He arrived at Sertorius's camp; and from an absolute and independent general, he found himfelf compelled by his own foldiers to be content to act as an inferior commander. The junction of Pompey with Metellus, and that of Perpenna with Sertorius, gave a new life to the war. Sertorius, who was as bold as he was experienced, had commonly the advantage, chiefly over Pompey; whom the defire of diftinguishing himself, and the fear of dividing his glory, usually separated from Metellus. That young general, whose reputation was at such a pitch at Rome, had even the displeasure to be a looker on at the taking and burning of the town of Lauron by Sertorius, after having in vain attempted to relieve it.

It is faid, that having engaged himself too far, and minding only the army that was forming the siege before him, he saw upon the adjacent hills troops of mountaineers, who appeared all of a sudden, and by their excursions into the vales, hindered him from extending his army, and foraging: so that he that was come to raise the siege, found himself in a manner besieged and invested by those numerous parties, which obliged him to keep very close. Sertorius having shown his principal officers the disposition of his camp, and the different posts that his troops possessed, added, speaking slightingly of Pompey, That Sylla's scholar was yet

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raw in his art; and he would shortly teach him, That it is more incumbent on the general of an army to

look behind, than before him.

And indeed, Pompey fearing lest these troops of Sertorius, upon the mountains, should grow numerous, and strong enough to cut off his retreat, resolved to march off in time. He was obliged to give over all thoughts of throwing succours into the place. Sertorius carried it sword in hand: and though he was not of a cruel temper, he thought himself obliged to set fire to it: thereby to deter other towns in Spain, and make them sensible, that Pompey's protection could avail them little against

his power and refentment.

Pompey, extremely concerned that he could not prevent a town from being burnt in his prefence, for having chosen his party, was every day looking for an opportunity of taking his revenge. He thought he had it near Sucrone: and though Metellus was not far off, he fancied himself strong enough to defeat the enemy without his affiftance. He attacked Sertorius in a plain; but he (whose Spanish horse outdid the Roman) pushed Pompey so-briskly, that his Italian horse being broke, put his foot in confusion and disorder. Pompey narrowly escaped being taken; and his army had been Year of entirely defeated, if Metellus had not ad-Rome; vanced to his aid. Sertorius feeing the legions of that old general near, retired to 679. his camp, and faid jeftingly to his officers; " If " that old woman, (meaning Metellus), had not

"having chastised him as he deserved."

Pompey, less presuming, and grown a little wister by his ill success, judged rightly, that he could not without danger keep separate from Metellus. They joined their forces: but notwithstanding they were become superior in number by it, they

" refcued her child out of my hands, I would have " fent him back to Rome to his relations, after

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run continually fresh hazards where-ever they encamped. They had to do with an enemy, who furprized them fometimes by day, fometimes by night. His troops confifting mostly of Spaniards and mountaineers, active and nimble, attacked them continually, and retreated as expeditiously. The Roman foldiers, heavily armed, and accustomed to a close battle, could never come up with them. Sertorius alone had the direction of all these skirmishes: it seemed as if he multiplied himfelf: the two Roman generals always met him at the head of those that attacked them. If he gained any advantage, he then pushed his enemy without giving them time to recover themfelves. And if he met with too great a refistance, and feared to be furrounded, his foldiers, as he had taught them, dispersed immediately several ways. They fled among the rocks and mountains *; and upon the least fignal, rallied again, and came to their general: he then returned, and charged again on another quarter. It looked as if they were fresh troops, and another army, which he had found ready to enter upon action. By this method of making war, which was favoured by the nature of the country, he never gave any rest, neither to his enemy, nor his own troops.

His reputation, and the account of the advantages which he gained every day against the two most eminent Roman generals, flew as far as Asia.

We have already heard, that Mithridates, preffed by Sylla, had been obliged, in order to obtain peace, to submit to the law of the conqueror, and accept of all the terms which he was pleafed to dictate; and that the Roman general had put a stop to his victorious arms, with no other view than to be at liberty to turn them against Marius, and his other private enemies.

Mithridates, after Sylla's decease +, and during

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^{*} Plut. in Sertor.

[†] Plut. ibid.

the civil wars that disturbed the commonwealth, thought he could never renew the war in more favourable circumstances. He raised a powerful army; and, in order to foment the civil war, and to keep up a diversion very advantageous to his designs, he sent to Sertorius, proposing to unite their interests. His deputies offered him considerable sums, for the charge of the war, with a sleet at his own disposal; on condition, that he would suffer that prince to reconquer those provinces of Asia, which the necessity of his affairs had forced him to give up by the treaty made with Sulla

give up by the treaty made with Sylla.

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Sertorius called a council. All that were prefent were of opinion, that it was scarce matter for deliberation: and withal reprefented to him, that for a fupply fo real and fo ready as money and a fleet, which were offered him, he was bound to no other expence than an empty confent, required of him, to an undertaking which he could noways hinder. But Sertorius, with a greatness of foul worthy of a true Roman, protested, That he could never hearken to a treaty contrary to the glory or the interest of his country; and that he even fcorned to obtain a victory over his private enemies by unjuitifiable methods. And having fent for Mithridates's ambaffadors, he declared to them, That he would fuffer the King their master to regain Bythinia and Cappadocia, being provinces to which the Romans had no right; but that he would never confent he should fet a foot in Afia Minor, which belonged to the Commonwealth, and which he had renounced by a folemn treaty. With this answer he fent those deputies back; and it is faid, that when Mithridates was told it, turning himfelf to fome of his courtiers with great astonishment, he should fay, "What would not this Roman prescribe to " us if he was at Rome, fince from the remotest " provinces of the ocean, whither he is banished, " he prefumes to mark out limits to my empire *?"

[.] Plut. in Sert.

However, that prince knowing how much it imported him to keep up the civil war, afterwards concluded the treaty with Sertorius upon those very terms. The King of Pontus supplied him with three hundred talents, and forty ships of war: and Sertorius gave the King of Pontus a body of troops under the command of Marius Varius, one of the senators proscribed by Sylla, and who had taken fanctuary with him.

That Senator being arrived in Asia, made the name and power of his general respected in all the places he passed through. As if he had been authorised by the Senate and the Roman people, he discharged in their name most of the cities from the heavy load of taxes that Sylla had laid upon them. So moderate and politic a conduct opened him the gates of all places, without striking one blow; and the very name of Sertorius made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

But this great captain, who had escaped all the dangers of the war, perished by the treachery of the Romans of his own party*. Perpenna, who could not forgive him the authority he had acquired over his army, and who flattered himself he should succeed him, if he could get rid of him, plotted his ruin; and drew into his conspiracy several officers, pretending that Sertorius slighted the Romans, and consided only in the Spaniards. The conspirators assassinated him at a banquet †. Perpenna then took upon him the command of the army; but he wanted both the abilities of his predecessor, and the considence of his soldiers, who abhorred his treachery.

Metellus and Pompey about that time had been obliged to part, to subfift the cavalry the easier. Pompey heard the first of Sertorius's murder, and

^{*} Vell. Pat. l. 2. App. l. 1. de Bell. Civ.

[†] Plat. in Seit. App. de Bell, Civ.

the disposition of his army thereupon. He immediately drew near Perpenna's camp: part of that general's army quitted him; the rest, when they were attacked, made but a feeble resistance. The whole dispersed: Perpenna, in this general rout, had nothing left to do, but to run away, and hide himself. He was found in a thicket. Pompey ordered his head to be cut off instantly; and by his death ended the Spanish war.

Pompey returned with his victorious army into Italy. Spartacus, a gladiator, had excited Year of there a very dangerous war ‡. That gladia- Rome tor, a man of courage, got out of Capua, 680. where he was a prisoner with seventy more of his comerades. He exhorted them rather to facrifice their lives for the defence of their liberty, than fubmit tamely to be a spectacle for the cruel diversion of their masters. A great number of runnaway flaves joined him. Licentiousness and hope of plunder brought a vast number of the populace to him, from all parts of the country; fo that in a little time he found himself at the head of a confiderable army. The Senate, despising Spartacus, at first contented themselves with sending Varinius Glaber and P. Valerius, both Prætors, against him. They even gave them but a small number of troops; because they thought it a shame to fend the legions against slaves and robbers, whom the fole prefence of the magistrate ought to have dispersed. Spartacus cut those troops to pieces. This defeat, though by a vastly superior number, caused a surprize in the Senate equal to Year of their indignation. It proving a more ferious affair than they at first imagined, 681. Rome L. Gellius and Cornelius Lentulus, the Confuls, received orders to take the field, each at the

Cæfar Com. l. 1. Cic. in Manil. Flor. l. 3. c. 2c. Val. Max. l. 8. c. 6. App. de Bell. Civ. l. 1.

head of a confiderable body of forces. Those magistrates, no ways imagining that an army of slaves and fugitives durst face the legions, marched heedlessly against enemies whom they despised. Spartacus took advantage of it. He chose his camp and the field of battle, as well as the ablest general could have done; and he led on his companions, and animated them to fight with fuch an undaunted courage, that the Roman foldiers, who thought they were fure of victory, meeting with an unexpected resistance, quitted their colours, and run The Confuls got them together again, and they fought a fecond battle near Picenum, but with the same ill success. The Romans fled again; and nothing could any ways palliate fo uncommon a cowardice, but attributing it to a criminal correfpondence with the enemy. Such great advantages drew numberless crowds of people to Spartacus; and this gladiator faw under his command at one time no less than an hundred and twenty thousand men, shepherds, banditti, slaves, deferters, profligate, desperate fellows, who carried fire and fword on all fides, and who in this rebellion had no other view than an unbridled licentiousness, and the impunity of their crimes. It was now three years that this domestic war had continu-Year of ed in Italy, as much to the shame, as the Rome disadvantage of the Commonwealth, when 682. the Senate gave the conduct thereof to Licinius Crassus, one of the greatest commanders of Sylla's party, and who had had a great hand in his victories. Fortune changed fides under fo able a general. Crassus knew how to make war; and he now did it with fuccefs. He began with restoring the military discipline in his army. The tenth man of those legions, that had in a cowardly manner given way in the preceeding battles, was put to death. This wholfome feverity made him equally dreaded by his own foldiers, and those of the

the enemy. The Romans well faw, that under this general they must either vanquish or die; and ten thousand men of the rebels having ventured at some distance from their main army, for the convenience of foraging, he fell upon them unawares,

and cut them all to pieces.

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He afterwards in a pitched battle defeated their whole army, and obtained a complete victory. Spartacus, with the rest of his broken forces, was endeavouring to gain the fea fide, and to get over into Sicily, where a great number of flaves made him hope he might retrieve all: but Crassus prevented him, cut off his march to the sea, and invested him in his own camp. Spartacus, despairing of a retreat, refolved once more to try the fate of a battle. He drew up his army with the skill of a great captain; he only wanted a better cause. It is faid, that when they brought him a horse a little before the onfet, he drew his fword, killed him, and turning to his foldiers, faid, "If I gain the victory, I " shall want none; and if we are defeated, I do " not defign to use any *." He then put himself at the head of his infantry. His people, animated by the example of their general, fought desperately. Victory was a long while dubious which fide to chuse; at last the valour of the legions decided the matter. Great was the flaughter made of those vagabonds: Spartacus, wounded in the thigh with a javelin, defended himself yet a long time; fighting on his knees, holding his buckler in one hand, and his fword in the other. At last, pierced with many wounds, he fell upon a heap of Romans he had facrificed to his fury, and of his own foldiers, who were killed at the feet of their general, in defending him +. Those that escaped the victor's sword, fled into the mountains, and fo rallied again. Pompey

^{*} Plut. in Crasso.

[†] Liv. Epit. 1. 97. Athen. 1. 2. Eutrop. 1. 6. Cic. in Pifo.

returning from Spain, met with them, and eafily defeated a body of fugitives, without a chief or place of refuge. Yet to leffen Craffus's glory, and increase his own, he was not ashamed to write to the Senate, "That Craffus had indeed defeated " Spartacus; but I (faid he in his letter) have cut " up the root of that war, and exterminated the " very last of those robbers *." Crassus was highly offended at a letter, which in depriving him of the honour of having ended that war, feemed written to prepare the people for refusing him the triumph. But as he aimed at the fame time at being chosen Conful, and that Pompey was then almighty in Rome, he concealed how much he refented that public affront, in a profound filence. Pompey was called to the Confulship by the wishes of the whole Roman people. Craffus, apprehending that he might get him excluded, intreated him by fome common friends that they might act in concert, and that he would receive him as his colleague in that fupreme dignity. Pompey, well pleafed to have forced him to have recourse to his credit, professed publicly, that he should be as much obliged to them for promoting Craffus's election as his own. The Year of two parties being united, carried all the votes. Craffus, who, according to Sylla's Rome, laws, had been Prætor before, was chosen 683. Conful; and the fame dignity was conferred on Pompey, though he was no more than a knight, had not been fo much as Quæftor, and scarce was thirty-four years old. But his great reputation, and the splendor of his victories, hid these irregularities: it was thought that a citizen, who had been honoured with a triumph before the age of four-and-twenty, and before he took place in the Senate, ought not to be subject to the common rules.

^{*} Plut. in Craffo. Cicero pro rege Manil.

This was not the fole occasion wherein the efteem or complaifance of his fellow-citizens, and fometimes his own ambition, placed him above the laws. It was a custom in the commonwealth, that a victorious general that demanded a triumph, was not to enter the city before he had obtained it. By the fame law, every citizen that pretended to the Confulship, was obliged to be there personally to follicit the dignity he aspired to. It looked as if Pompey and Craffus had laid afide their pretentions to a triumph, fince they had both entered Rome to follicit the Confulship. But great was the furprise of the Romans to find, that after their election they still claimed it, as if they had remained at the head of their armies. Till then they had acted in concert; but as the affair of the triumph was liable to difficulties, and that they were called upon to difband their armies, which were at the gates of Rome; Craffus, who had lefs regard for Pompey, fince he was chosen Conful, represented, that fince Pompey had first terminated the Spanish war, he ought also first to distand his army. Pompey, on the other hand, incensed at Crassus for maintaining that he ought to break his army first, refused to comply, on pretence that he waited for Metellus, who was to triumph with him. These opposite pretensions made their hatred break out. Pompey could not bear that Craffus, whom he deemed a much inferior commander to himfelf, and who had even obtained the Confulate through his credit only, should dare to enter into competition with him; and Craffus, the richest man in the republic, reckoned his treasures for victories, and could not brook to give way to a man, whose coffers were not so full as his Through those pretentions the public easily law, that those two men, equally ambitious and powerful, had a mind to keep their armies on foot, less to adorn their triumph, an empty ceremony, than to maintain the more power and authority against

against each other. The Senate and the people fearing to fall again into the calamities of a civil war, befought them to facrifice their private resentments to the public peace. The people went even so far on a day of assembly, as to beg of them on their knees, that they would be reconciled Pompey affected an inflexible pride, and to the last seemed unmoveable: Crassus, on his part, showed no less stiffness. But the priests having declared, that the state was threatned with the most dreadful calamities, unless the Consuls agreed; Crassus, moved with sentiments of piety, arose first, and presented his hand to Pompey, who afterwards embraced him; and when both had triumphed, they

disbanded their troops *.

This reconciliation was not fo fincere, but that each endeavoured to strengthen himself, by increafing his party. It imported them above all things to gain the people. Craffus, to win their affections, prepared an entertainment on a thousand tables, whereat he treated the whole city. He at the same time distributed corn enough to all the populace to maintain their families three whole months. The furprise at such prodigious liberalities will be lefs, if it be considered, that Crassus's estate amounted to more than feven thousand talents. And it was by fuch like public expences, that the great men of Rome used to purchase the votes of the people. Pompey, on the other hand, to outdo Craffus, and to bring the Tribunes of the people into his interests, procured such laws to pass, as restored to them all the authority they had been deprived of by Sylla +. Without any regard to the memory of his general and benefactor, he revived the ordinances of C. Gracchus, which referred to the knights the judgment of criminal causes, which Sylla had restored to the Senate. Thus those ambitious men,

Plut. in Craffo. + Plut. in Pomp.

in their turns, played with the laws, and sometimes enlarged the authority of the Senate, and sometimes that of the people, according as it best suited with their private interest. It is impossible to express the transports of joy the Tribunes showed at the recovery of their former authority. As they chiefly owed it to Pompey, they tarried not long before they showed their gratitude. The war had been decreed against the pirates that infested the coasts of the commonwealth. They conferred the management of it on Pompey, and granted him an absolute authority by sea and land, either to raise

men, or to equip ships of war.

These pirates came originally from the coasts of Cicilia. At first they armed but a few small barks and brigantines, which infested the seas, and took both merchants and paffengers, whom they made Their number and boldness increased upon their being protected by Mithridates, who took them into his fervice, whilft he made war against the Romans. They fitted out great ships, formed very large fleets, and extended their cruifing all along the coasts of Italy. They even made some descents; pillaged the richest and most famous temples; ruined the fmall towns, and carried their inhabitants into flavery. In fhort, their power increafed to fuch a height, that they had above a thousand ships, divided into several squadrons, which kept all the ports of the commonwealth blocked up; fo that scarce any vessel ventured out, without being taken; which had ruined trade entirely.

It was against those pirates that Pompey was sent. To put him in a condition to make a suitable armament, the people, whose idol he was, decreed him a power without restriction. His commission run in express terms, that his authority should extend all over the Mediterranean, quite from Hercules's pillars,

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and as far as four hundred Stadia into the land: that he should raise as many soldiers and failors as he thought fit *: that he should take whatever sums he pleased out of the public treasury, without being accountable for them; and chuse out of the whole Senate fifteen Senators to be his lieutenants, and execute his orders where he could not be prefent himself. So absolute an authority trusted to one fingle citizen, gave a great deal of uneafiness, and even jealoufy to the Senate. Several of that body openly accused Pompey, that he defigned to engross the whole fovereignty of the State to himfelf; and one of the Confuls, provoked that this commission had been given him to the leffening of his prerogative, told him in a fort of threatning tone, "That " by affecting, as he did, to imitate the haughty " behaviour of Romulus, he might perhaps meet " with his fate."

Catulus, more moderate, took a wifer method: and in order to diffuade the people from granting fo vast a power to one single citizen, he began in one of the affemblies with a panegyric upon Pompey, and mentioned the most celebrated actions of that general in the most magnificent terms. But, as if he had been concerned for his fafety, he was forry the people should expose the greatest general of the commonwealth to every danger that happened: "And if you should lose him, (said he to "the people) what other could you put in his " room?" At which the multitude, raising their voices, cried out one and all, "We will put you." Catulus, no longer able to refift the firm refolution of the whole people, and pleafed at the fame time with the honourable mention they made of his own courage, retired †. Another Senator, called Rofcius, endeavouring to speak after him, was pre-

^{*} Plut. in Pompeio.

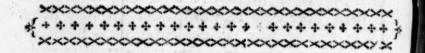
⁺ Cic. pro lege Manilia. Plut. in Pomp. Vel. 1. 2. c. 31.

vented by the clamours of the people, who would not then bear any remonstrances on that head. Roscius was reduced to explain himself by signs; and holding up two of his singers, he tried to make them apprehend, that they ought at least to give Pompey a colleague; but all his endeavours were to no purpose. The people, even grown angry at the jealousy and resistance of the Senate, enlarged Pompey's power still more; and it was added to his commission, that he should be at liberty to arm five hundred ships, put an hundred and twenty thousand soldiers on board of them for descents; and be attended by four-and-twenty Senators, and

two Quæftors.

Thus it was, that this people, so jealous of their liberty, feduced by their Tribunes, were haftening into flavery; and it lay wholly in Pompey's power to make himfelf fole fovereign of the commonwealth. But those that rightly knew him, judged they had nothing to fear from a man who had more vanity than ambition, and who was more fenfible of the great name that fo honourable a post gave him, than mindful how to make it lasting and independent upon those who conferred it upon him. This war lasted but one campaign. Pompey having fitted out a large fleet, defeated that of the pyrates. He took vast numbers of those robbers: but instead of putting them to death, he banished them to remote inland places, as far diffant as poffible from the fea-shore. By which method, as he enabled them to get a livelihood, without robbing, fo he prevented them most furely from ever returning to their pyracy.

The End of the Eleventh Book.



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ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK XII.

Pompey goes into Asia, to put himself at the head of the forces commanded by Lucullus. The interview of those two generals. The reproaches they make each other They part declared enemies. The particulars of Catiline's conspiracy. The ambitious designs of the Tribune P. Servilius Rullus Cicero, by his skill and oratory, gets the law rejected. which Rullus proposed concerning the conquered lands, and wholly defeats Catiline's party.

O fooner did the news of the pyrates being overcome reach Rome *, but Manilius Tribune of the people, and a creature of Pompey, in order to perpetuate his authority, proposed a new decree, for conferring the command of the army against Mithridates upon Pompey; altho' L. Lucullus, an excellent commander, was actually invested with that employment, and had gained a great reputation in it. This decree expressed not only that Pompey should take upon him the command of his army, and the government of Asia, but besides retain his superintendency over that whole naval

power, with which he just then had subdued the

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This was delivering all the fea and land forces of the state into his hands: he now only wanted the title of king. Manilius and Pompey's adherents preffed the publishing of this decree very much. The people, ever blind, and the tool of the great, were as follicitous for it, as if their all had been at flake. The Senate, more clear-fighted, looked on that decree as the establishing of tyranny. Yet when the day was come, and that Manilius proposed to the affembly to recal Lucullus, and fend Pompey in his room, no body offered to ftir against it: the fear of fo powerful a man's refentment restrained almost all the Senators. Cicero himself, who was univerfally acknowledged a good citizen and patriot, but always fearful, and unfettled in his refolution, declared for the strongest side; and made for the decree that discourse, which is preserved under the title of Pro Lege Manilia. There was none, in fo large and numerous a body, but Hortenfius and Catulus that opposed it. Catulus, with a great deal of courage, reproached the people with the injustice they were going to do Lucullus: he recounted his fervices, and the great actions he had performed du-

^{*} Plut in Pompeio.

ring the course of that war. He told them how by a glorious victory he had relieved the town of Cizicum, when besieged by sea and land; how he had defeated Mithridates in several battles, and vanquished Tigranes, the most potent king of Asia. But perceiving that the peeple grew uneasy at his discourse, he turned himself towards the Senate, and raising his voice, with a mien full of indignation; "Let us retire, (said he), conscript fathers, "from a city where Typanny is going to be settled; and let us go seek some desart, where we may preserve that liberty which we received from our fathers*."

This generous discourse made no manner of impression upon the people, who had either sold their faith to Pompey, or who feared his power and resentment. Thus was the public interest, as it always falls out, sacrificed to private views. The decree was confirmed by all the tribes; and the people, of their own accord, conferred a greater authority on Pompey, than Sylla had usurped by an armed force, and exercised afterwards during his distator-

fhip.

Pompey set out immediately for Asia: and Lucullus, hearing of the decree, quitted his army, that he might not be obliged to surrender it himself to his adversary. These two generals met in the province of Galatia. Their officers, and such as were friends to both, persuaded them to see each other: they at first treated one another with all imaginable civility; but at last Lucullus, full of indignation against Pompey, who had robbed him of his employment, could not forbear showing his resentment. He reproached him, that he had never coveted to command armies, but against enemies already vanquished; and that, like those birds of

* Plut in Pomp.

⁺ Vell. Patere. l. 2. c. 33 Plut. in Lucullo.

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prey that feed on none but dead bodies and carrion, it was his custom to come at the end of every war, to make his advantage of battles fought and victories gained by other generals. That it was known to all the world, that he endeavoured to rob Metellus, Crassus, and Catulus, of the glory of their victories over the Spaniards, gladiators and mutineers who followed the party of Lepidus; and that, without exposing himself to any danger, he knew how to make the advantages obtained by other people, his own: " And have I now, added Lucullus, van-" quished Mithridates, conquered the kingdom of " Pontus, defeated Tigranes, obtained confiderable " victories, and taken Tigranocerta, Nifibe, and fo " many other cities in Armenia, only to procure you " fresh triumphs?"

Pompey, provoked at so injurious a speech, reproached him on his part, that he had less conquered than ravaged Asia, whose riches he had secured in his own coffers; that he made war for nothing but the sake of the plunder; that he had indeed obtained some advantages, but that he never eared to compleat a victory; and usually lest to his enemy wherewithal to continue the war, that he might likewise be continued in the command, and pillage on to a degree odious to his very soldiers.

These mutual reproaches were not groundless *; and if it was true, that Lucullus had tarnished the splendor of his victories by that insatiable desire of accumulating riches upon riches; that jealousy, which Pompey showed against all the commanders of the commonwealth, and the springs he set at work to deprive them of their posts, even during the course of their victories, rendered him much suspected to all true republicans. It looked as if he would be the only general of the state; and that every man became odious to him, in proportion to

^{*} Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 33.

the glory and efteem he acquired. These two generals parted declared enemies: Pompey went on to take the command of the army upon him; and Lucullus returned to Rome, where notwithstanding all the ill offices and opposition of Pompey and his party, he was honoured with a solemn triumph. He found that city, then the capital of the world, in a seeming peace. But that outward tranquillity was but a cover to a secret agitation; and there were new parties privately broaching; all which, though by different methods, aimed at nothing less than to supplant each other, and become masters of

the government.

Lucius Sergius Catiline, whom we have mentioned above, was at the head of one of the parties +: He was descended of an illustrious patrician family, and fo ancient, that he bragged it descended from Sergestus, one of Æneas's companions: a folly common to most great people, who, by reason of fome refemblance in the names, fancy they find the origin of their families in the ruins of antiquity, and often in mere fables. Catiline, educated in the hurry and confusion of the civil wars, had been the minister of the cruelties of Sylla, to whom he had devoted himself. The favour of that dictator, his birth and courage, had raifed him to the principal dignities of the commonwealth: he had been Quæftor, Lieutenant-general in feveral armies, and had fince commanded in chief, as Prætor in Africa. But in all these different employments, he had equally dishonoured himself by his debaucheries and horrible crimes. He had been already publicly accused of incest with one of the vestal virgins; of assassination and extortion; and he escaped the punishment of the laws no other way, than by his art of bribing his accusers, with whom by dint of money he prevailed to drop the profecution. He was a

[†] Salust in Cat. Plut. in Cic.

man without morals, probity, or respect for the Gods: ambition was his fole deity: not fatisfied with the present, always anxious for the future; bold, heady, audacious, daring to undertake any thing. but not very capable; aiming at tyranny too openly. and uncapable of that deep diffimulation which was necessary to cover his execrable defigns. This was the picture of Lucius Catiline, who, after Sylla's death. formed the project of usurping the fovereign power, as he had done. To succeed herein, he began to keep company with, and to court all the young men in Rome, who had either wasted their fortunes by gaming, or their bodies by debauchery with wine and women.

Rome, in its beginning, had found no furer guard for public liberty, nor fence against ambition, than an almost equal poverty among all her citizens. Temperance and frugality, the confequences of that poverty, reigned in all conditions, perhaps as much out of necessity, as out of choice. Luxury was a long while a stranger there. Iron was more valued than gold; and each citizen, content with his fmall patrimony, which he manured with his own hands, endeavoured no other ways to diftinguish himself, than by his courage. As they had no expectations from any body, each getting his subfiftence by his own labour, there was neither a mean complaifance, nor flavish dependance to be found amongst them. "Love of liberty was their universal mo-" tive;" and as long as Rome held the poverty of each citizen for a virtue, her citizens remained free, fubject to the laws only, and independent upon each other.

But after the Romans had destroyed Carthage, the rival of Rome, subdued Italy, and the adjacent isles, conquered Spain, and the coasts of Africa, reduced part of Gaul, and all Syria, into provinces; after they had forced most of the fovereigns of Asia to pay them tribute; then ambition,

luxury,

luxury, effeminacy, and all those vices that seem inseparable from wealth, entered Rome in the train of the conquerors of those countries. Those that had lived before with honour in a laudable poverty, could not stand it in plenty. They began to look with admiration on a picture drawn by a great master; and the like on a fine statue, or a carved vase. Soon was the good fortune of those generals and officers envied, who had brought some from Asia; and it was to get possession of those, and to grow rich that they began to barter their liberty, and sell it to such great men, and heads of parties, as they could expect either employment or money from.

The auftere manners and frugality of the ancient times, were by degrees changed into an exquisite voluptuousness. Most of the youth consumed the patrimony of their ancestors in feasts and entertainments, where delicacy and extravagant plenty reigned: the women had their share in this almost univerfal corruption: few now counted modesty among the female virtues. Some men, unworthy of that name, proftituted themselves like women; and such as had ruined themselves to answer such extraordinary expences, or were in danger of being profecuted for crimes, wished for a civil war, that might shelter them from the rigor of the laws, or their Year of troublesome creditors. This strange turn of mind in the Romans, began to show it-Rome, felf towards the end of the confulship of 687. L. Volcatius Tullus, and M. Emilius Lepidus. The people had defigned for their fucceffors, Publ. Autronius, and P. Sylla: but having afterwards been convicted of bribery, they were excluded; and by a new election, Lucius Cotta and L. Torquatus were fubflituted in their room. The Year of thame of this exclusion, and a spirit of revenge, urged them on to conspire against Rome, the tranquillity of the state. They retol-688. ved to affaffinate the two new Confuls, murder

murder the greatest part of the Senate, and make themselves masters of the government. Catiline, always ready for the greatest crimes, and very desirous of all novelties that could make him hope for a change in his fortune, entered into this plot. Bessides him, they engaged in it a great number of those young men, undone by their excesses, and mentioned above: among the rest, Piso, a youth of a very noble family; but rash, factious, overloaded with debts, and who had no prospect of retrieving his affairs, but in the subversion of the state.

Their defign was, as we faid, to kill both the Confuls, and the greatest number of Senators. They were to put this in execution in the capitol, on the first day of January, when the Confuls took possesfion of their dignity. But not having found a convenient opportunity on that day, they put it off till the fifth of February, at what time was to be feen the most execrable attempt that ever had happened in the commonwealth, fince the foundation of A band of profligates were, upon a fignal. to be given by Catiline, to fall on the Confuls and the Senators, and flab them *. But Catiline, impatient and over hafty to spill the blood of his fellow-citizens, having given the fignal too foon, and before all the conspirators had conveniently placed themselves, according to direction, nobody offered to ftir: fo that this cruel business was put off once more. Catiline, by his boldness, made himself the head of the plot, and strengthned his party with a great number of Senators and Knights, who all from different motives joined in the conspiracy.

Among his adherents in the Senate, were counted Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, mentioned above, Cassius Longinus, Caius Cethegus, both the sons of Servius Sylla, Lucius Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, Porcius Lecca, Lucius Curius, L. Bestia, and Q. Cu-

[&]amp; Salustius.

rius; and of the knights, M. Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Statilius, P. Gabinus Capito, and C. Cornelius. It is pretended, that Craffus partly knew their defigns, and that he, always jealous, and an enemy of Pompey's glory, was not forry that another party was arifing in the commonwealth, which should counterbalance his authority. Some people did even suspect Cæsar of savouring the plot underhand; and they add, that those two cunning and equally ambitious men waited for the event, before

they would declare themselves.

Lentulus, one of the heads of this party, was fon to Manius Aquilius, who had been Conful with Marius: he bore the name of Lentulus, because he had been adopted by another Lentulus of the noble family of the Cornelians. He was a man plunged in all manner of debauchery, naturally shameless, and who openly bragged of his vices. He had the firname of Sura given him, (which means the Calf of the Leg), because Sylla the Dictator having one day in open Senate demanded he should give an account of the monies which he had unfaithfully managed during his Quæstorship; Lentulus, who had spent them in his riots, answered him, That he had kept no other book of accounts besides the calf of his leg, which he held out to be ftruck; alluding to a custom of those days among boys playing at ball; when he that had miffed, received a blow upon his leg. Hiftory has preferved us another instance of his impudence, which shews his deprayed temper and character still better. He had been fummoned before the magistrate, to anfwer to fome crimes that he was charged with. He bribed the jury with large fums of money; and finding that, when judgment was given, he had carried it by one vote more than was necessary to come off, he was not ashamed to fay aloud to them, "That one of them ought to return him his money, " fince one vote had been of no use to him."

Such was P. Lentulus, whom his excesses, impunity and ambition, drew into this conspiracy. He had suffered himself to be amused with a strange fort of prophecy, ascribed to the Sybils; and which they said, promised the empire of Rome to three of the Cornelians. Sylla and Cinna, both of that house, though of different parties, had one after the other enjoyed the sovereign power: and Lentulus was not displeased, that his statterers applied the prophecy of the Sybil to him, and took him for the third of that name, who was to reign in Rome.

Cethegus, of the same party, was a bold audacious man, to be feared because of the sway he bore among the common people. He had been some time before Tribune of the people, whom he governed at his own pleasure: but he was himself governed by a courtezan, called Præcia, who, during his Tribunate, disposed as bitrarily of all things in the commonwealth.

Besides the Senators we have mentioned, there was a great number of knights that had engaged in the plot. Catiline drew, by his management, even some veteran soldiers and officers of Sylla, who, after having consumed in whoring, gaming and drinking, all the rewards of their former services, were longing for a new civil war, which they looked on as the only remedy for their want and misery.

Some women of the best families in Rome, as much noted for their lewdness as their beauty, entered into the conspiracy out of complaisance for their lovers: such was the famous Sempronia. Nature not only placed her in a high rank, but bestowed on her a lively and engaging wit, a firm and undaunted courage; and what women value more than all that, an incomparable beauty.

These natural endowments were set off by an outward appearance of modesty, which she sometimes affected to put on, according to the character

of those she had a mind to please. But her looks, which then seemed to escape modest eyes, were always guided by violent passions, she always courting the men more than they her. The pravity of her morals made her fall by degrees into the greatest crimes. She was suspected of being an accomplice in several base murders; and she was known to have denied, in a court of judicature, the receipt of pledges with more considence and boldness, than the owners demanded the restitution of them.

Other women, as diforderly and as well born as Sempronia, but not fo young, nor fo beautiful, had a hand in the plot, in hopes to fee all those debts acquitted, which they had contracted in an advanced age, to supply the wants of their young gallants. Catiline drew them over to his party, by procuring them such men as they liked best, with a design either to gain over their husbands to his party, or by their means to get rid of them.

In short, all the Roman youth that had been bred in luxury, and were grown effeminate with nice living; all that were ruined, and could no longer follow their extravagant courses; all that were ambitious and aspiring to the chief posts in the government; others who had not of themselves power enough to be revenged on their too potent enemies; all these people, animated with different

passions, joined and favoured Catiline.

This chief of the party, to tie them the stronger, promises some to discharge their debts: he actually gives money to others; to some he procures the women they were in love with; the revengeful he statters with a prospect of seeing their enemies proscribed; and he amuses all with the estates and honours they should obtain in a new revolution. But at the same time he represents to them, that they must set all their industry to work to get him chosen Conful; that it would be no less advantageous to the party to procure Caius Antonius to be his collegue.

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league, who was one of the candidates, and with whom he had of old lived in good amity: that afterwards he might let him into the fecret; and that if once they were both invested with the sovereign magistracy, and at the head of the legions, there could never be a power sufficient to oppose the ex-

ecution of their defigns.

It is true, they could never have chosen a fitter time. Pompey was then making war in the farthest parts of the East. That General, carried on by the defire of filing the whole earth with the glory of his name, was purfuing the Arabians, whom it was easier to defeat, than to meet with. There was no army in Italy. The people, always greedy of new things, faw with pleasure the rife of a party which feemed to threaten nothing but the authority of the Senate: and this very Senate, composed of io many wife heads, flept fecure, falfly imagining that the leaders of that party did not deferve their attention.

However, as it was very difficult that the defigns of fuch men as were continually rioting, should long remain a fecret, Cicero heard of it first by Fulvia, a woman of a noble family, which however she dishonoured by her criminal intrigues with Quintus Curius, one of the heads of the conspiracy.

Curius had ruined himself in keeping her company; and he continued in favour, as long as she found her account in it. But as foon as his flock began to grow low, indifference and coldness took place of that interested and mercenary love: and Fulvia despised him, as soon as she ceased to be a

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Curius offering to enjoy former favours, is rebuked and denied: thinking at first, that a rival had supplanted him, he storms and threatens: afterwards he stoops to the lowest and meanest submissions; at last he discovers, with much shame, VOL. II.

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that he owes all Fulvia's favours to his money. As he could neither supply her with more, nor free himself from her chains, he endeavours to please her at least with fair hopes. He discovers the whole plot to her, and opens her a scene of new treasures

in the fuccess of his well-laid designs.

But whether Fulvia, like all women of that flamp, valued the promifes of a ruined lover but little; or whether she entertained a very ill opinion of an undertaking managed by young people; she made a discovery of all she had heard to some men of distinction, without naming her author: and this she did, that she might not find herself involved in a matter of treason. It immediately spread all over Rome. Cicero, who was very intent on all things relating to the public, traced thefe reports up to the very head. He faw Fulvia, gained her, and the fold him the fecret of a man whom the never loved; and whom the was afterwards civil to for no other reason, than that she might draw more fecrets from him, as the had promifed Cicero fhe would.

Besides the general interest of his country, Cicero had a private end to ferve in this nice enquiry, The time of chusing Confuls was very near: he was one of the candidates himself: Catiline was one of those that put up for it. That man, who was of an illustrious family, never spoke of that of Cicero but with the utmost contempt. He commonly called him an upftart, a new man, that is, whose father nor ancestors had never bore any of those magistracies, which ennobled their posterity. Cicero, on the other hand, neglected nothing that could render Catiline odious and suspected of designs against the public liberty. Nothing was fitter to prepoffess the people against that Patrician, than the discovery of his ill defigns. Cicero succeeded and Catillne contributed himself towards in it: it, by his rough and fierce behaviour, and by dropping threats at a time when it should have been

been his study how to gain the friendship and esteem of his fellow-citizens. All those that truly loved their country, united to make him rear of lose his election. Catiline was excluded Rome, with scorn and indignation, and that high 600.

dignity was conferred on Cicero.

Caius Antonius was appointed his colleague; of a Plebeian but very noted family, deriving its pedigree from a fon of Hercules. Antonius was a man naturally lazy, a lover of eafe and pleafure, and who hitherto had no further concerned himself in affairs of government, than was necessary to show he was not absolutely unfit for them. The only reason why they fixed upon him for Cicero's colleague, was, that the Romans were convinced, that a man of his character would, without any reluctance, follow Cicero's advice, and concur in every thing that should be thought necessary by that great man to diffipate Catiline's faction. The friends and creatures of that ringleader, who thought themfelves fure of his election, were quite confounded when they faw Cicero chosen. They dreaded him on account of that powerful eloquence, with which he carried all before him in the affemblies; and they knew, that he was not less valued on account of his probity, and his immoveable attachment to the laws. The dread of feeling the rigour thereof themselves, under so clear-fighted and severe a magistrate, made several of those factious people abandon the party and interest of Catiline. But this defection made no alteration in that desperado, who was determined to die, if he could not reign. He got some new adherents in their stead, and borrowed on all fides. By his order, arms and provifions were laid up in feveral places; and he fent C Manlius into Tufcany, Septimius into the mark of Ancona, and C. Julius into Apulia, there to raife men underhand, and endeavour to fecure to his interest such officers and veteran foldiers, settled in those provinces, as had ferved with him under. Aa2 Sylla. Sylla. Whilft fo dangerous a man was increasing the number of his creatures, with all possible diligence and application, and was getting together arms and provisions to enable himself to seize upon the government with an armed force; a tribune of the people was forming a like design, but under more specious colours: his name was Publius Servilius Rullus. This Tribune was the more to be feared, as he employed no other arms than persuasion; and seemed to have nothing else in view, than to render the condition of the common people

happier than it was.

It may have been observed more than once in this work*, that whenever the Romans had vanquished their enemies, they were wont to take part of their lands from them; that those lands were fometimes farmed out, to increase the revenue of the state; and that they were also often divided and shared out among the poorer citizens, who paid the Commonwealth but an eafy This public domain increased with rent for them. the greatness of the Commonwealth, and the spoils of fo many states, which the Romans had conquered in the three parts of the world. Rome was in possession of lands in the several cantons of Italy, in Sicily and the adjacent isles, in Spain, in Africa, in Greece, in Macedonia, and all over Afia. In a word, they had incorporated into the public domain, the peculiar domains of as many free cities, kingdoms, and commonwealths, as the Romans had conquered and fubdued. The produce and income of them was carried into the Roman treafury. That was the fund out of which the armies were fubfifted, and all public expences answered and discharged.

Rullus, being raised to the tribuneship, undertook to have the sole disposal of all those lands to himself. He brought over into his scheme most of

^{*} Cicer. in Rulliana. Plin. l. 7. c. 32.

his colleagues, and feveral Senators of the first rank, whom, from the success of his project, he made to hope for immense riches, and an absolute authority: two motives that are generally prevalent with most men, and are commonly the rule of their conduct.

Rullus having formed his party, prepared the planof a new law, by which it was enacted. That, for the relief of the common people, there should be Decemvirs chosen out of hand, who should have power to fell all those private domains, which had been incorporated into the domain of the Commonwealth, fince the Confulates of L. Sylla and Q. Pompeius: that they should likewife sell all the forests in Italy; that the generals of armies, and other officers of the commonwealth, who should have any monies in their hands that had not yet been paid into the treasury, should be legally discharged, by paying those fums to the Decemvirs; and that those commissioners should employ all those sums in the buying up the different estates situate in Italy. which should afterwards be shared out among the common people; fo that without dispossessing any of the nobility of their ancient usurpations, each poor citizen should have a small estate in his own. native country to fubfift on.

Rullus, to gain the multitude also over to his fide in behalf of this law, added, That the Decemvirs should have power to settle new colonies in such towns of Italy as they should think proper: that they should have leave to repeople Capua, to conduct thither five thousand inhabitants from Rome, of which each Decemvir should name five hundred at his own pleasure; and that between them should be shared the territory of that city, and of Stella, which hitherto had been let out to farm for the

benefit of the public.

It was enacted by the fame law, that the propofer of the law should of right preside at the assem-

bly held for the choice of the Decemvirs: by which article, Rullus reserved to himself the chief direction and authority in this whole affair He added, that the power of these commissioners should be uncontrollable, and no body should have liberty of appealing from them to any other power; and that they should be invested with this authority in Rome, and all over the Roman empire, for the space of five years: that they should have the right of taking the Auspices; and have lictors, and such other officers, as used to attend the chief magistrates of the commonwealth: that they should have power to chuse two hundred of the Equestrian order, to put their decrees in execution in the feveral provinces. Rullus, under pretence of avoiding the confusion and tumults which commonly happened in the general affemblies of the whole Roman people, but in effect to make himself master of the election of the Decemvirs, proposed, that they should not be chosen by any more than by seventeen tribes, which should be drawn by lot; and that it should be sufficient to have the votes of nine tribes, to be declared duly elected. And to exclude Pompey, whose credit he stood much in fear of, from that dignity, and who was then commanding armies in the remotest parts of Asia; he added, that no citizen, absent from Rome, should stand candidate for the decemvirate.

How much foever this extensive power ought to have been suspected in a commonwealth, yet did Rullus fee a vast number of Senators, and the whole people without exception, for his project. The first, urged on by their ambition, hoped to be chofen Decemvirs; and the common people flattered themselves they should have a share in those lands that were to be bought in Italy Rullus foon faw himself at the head of a confiderable party; and the Conful Antonius himself, the colleague of Ci-

cero, did not diflike these novelties.

It was faid, that being loaded with debts, he look'd on the place of a Decemvir, and the extraordinary power annexed to it, as an infallible means to repair his fortune, because of the vast sums of money that should go through his hands, and that he should have the disposing of: many even suspected him of secretly favouring Catiline's party.

As the authority which he had by his Confulate was of great weight, Cicero undertook to bring him off*. Interest was the only way to succeed in it: that consideration made him resign to Antony the government of Macedonia, with the command of the army, which by lot was fallen to himself. He contented himself with the government of Cisalpine

Gaul, which brought in a less income.

It is univerfally known, that the Confuls, after their election, were wont to divide betwixt them the whole administration of the commonwealth: that one of those magistrates commonly stayed at Rome and at the head of the Senate, to preside therein; and that he hardly ever went out of the city unless some very important war forced both the Consuls to put themselves at the head of armies, and to take the field. He that took upon him the command of the forces, had at the same time the government of the provinces bordering on that where the forces were, and the two Consuls generally determined the choice of these two different employments by lot.

The Conful, entering upon the provinces of the empire, received there the fame honours, which every where else were only paid to the sovereigns of the country. During his Consulate, he enjoyed an absolute authority; and unless he was of an uncommon probity, he seldom returned home without being loaded with immense treasures. Anto-

Plut. in Cicer. D. H. l. 37. Cic. in Sextiana, Mureniana, et Pisoniana. Salust.

nius, whose indifferent circumstances required such an help, accepted of his colleague's prosser with joy: and, from a principle of gratitude, quitted that party which before he seemed to favour; following the dictates of Cicero's wise counsels, and resolved to join with him in all his measures for the good

of his country.

Cicero, now fure of his colleague, turned all his thoughts against Rullus*. As he was not yet acquainted with the bottom of that Tribune's intentions, that he might penetrate into them, he got fome of their common friends to remonstrate to him, that being both invested with two several dignities in the same year, it was for the interest of the commonwealth, that they should act jointly, and with unanimity; that he should ever find him difposed to favour any thing tending to the advantage of the people; and that he defired him to impart to him the plan of a law, which the world reported he was to propose; that, if it appeared just to him, he might back it with all his credit. But Rullus, rightly judging, that a man fo much attached to the maintaining of the ancient laws, and fo jealous of the public liberty as Cicero was, would never approve those innovations which he defigned to introduce into the government; answered nothing to those civil advances, but in very general terms, which increased the suspicions of the Conful. even shunned his presence, that he might not be obliged to fpeak plainer; and Cicero faw that he should never kno w any thing certain about the law, but when the law should be publicly proposed. Yet, that he might not be furprifed, he fent fecretaries to all the affemblies of the people, to observe every thing that should happen there; and to write down, in the best manner they could, all the articles of

^{*} Cic. in Rulliana 1.

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that law, and what might be faid in relation to that

fubiect, if it came to a debate.

It was by means of those secretaries, he heard, that Rullus had proposed his law to the assembly. They brought him an exact copy of it, and likewise of all the discourses made on that occasion, either

by Rullus himfelf, or his adherents.

Cicero, furnished with this piece, called immediately the Senate together: having read the law to them, which contained more than forty articles, he remonstrated to that august body, how much the proposals of the Tribune ought to be suspected. and even hated by all that fincerely loved liberty. and the quiet of the commonwealth. As he fpoke to a body of men entirely jealous of their own authority, he made them fensible how much it was inconfistent with the authority of the Senate, to create those Decemvirs with so absolute a power all over the empire, and for fo long a time as five whole years; that there was a new kind of magiftracy arifing, which would abolish all the old ones: and that the fale of the lands that belonged to the domain of the state, would infallibly destroy the principal strength of the commonwealth.

"Know, Conscript Fathers, (said he), that our Tribuues have a mind to sell the lands of the Attalians and the Olimpenians, which Servilius, by his conquests, had added to the domain of the public. Thence these merchants, who have resolved to sell the whole commonwealth, are to cross over into Macedonia, and there, by way of auction, sell the royal lands of Philip and Perseus, acquired by the valour and courage of Paulus Emilius. The fertile lands of Corinth, which, through the wise conduct of Mummius, make part of the public revenue, will not escape them. Next, they'll sail over to Spain. After having fold the lands which we posses near New Car-

"thage, they'll leave Europe; they'll cross over

"into Africa, and there they will fell the territory of Old Carthage. Afia prefents them next with new estates, and a new field of plunder. Pontus, Cappadocia, Bythinia and Paphlagonia; all the lands, that belonged particularly to the several princes, who reigned in those large provinces, will be put up to sale next. By the sale of all these domains of the commonwealth, they are going at once to dry up all the springs whence the treasury used to be supplied; divert the furest funds for paying our legions; and deprive Rome and all Italy of the supplies they received from those provinces, in times of dearth and famine."

Cicero took next into consideration the article about the colonies which the Decemvirs were to settle in such towns of Italy as they should think sit, and to which they were to assign the best lands. He showed, that Rullus, and the other Tribunes, had no other design by this project, but to fill the towns in the neighbourhood of Rome with their own creatures, that they might afterwards the easier make themselves masters of Rome itself, and of the government.

" It is not only (continued Cicero) of our great " losses, and the lessening of our public revenue, " I complain; it is against that absolute power de-" figned for the Decemvirate, that I stand up at " present. My fear and uneafiness is for the wel-" fare of our country, and the preservation of our " liberty. For which way will you be able to re-" fift a fet of men, that after they have filled Italy " with their fatellites and guards, will have in their " own hands all the treasures of the commonwealth? " Never fear, (fays fomebody), out of those monies, " according to that law, they are to buy lands in " Italy without delay. Mighty well; but, are they " very fure, that in those fertile and pleasant coun-" tries, they shall meet with people enough dif-" poled

"posed to sell their lands and paternal estates? And if there should be no sellers; if there should be no room to lay those monies out that they shall have in their hands; what will become of our money? That is easily answered, Conscript Fathers, if you but allow them for five years that absolute power granted by the law, you have yourselves put them in a condition of never being accountable to you: and if the law passes, the commonwealth loses in one day her domains, her sinances, and her liberty."

In short, Cicero, who was no less a statesman than he was an orator, spoke with so much force and eloquence; he demonstrated so plainly, that Rullus himself, and his colleagues and adherents, had no other aim but to enrich themselves at the expence of the public, and to establish the ancient tyranny of the Decemvirs, that the law was rejected

by the Senate almost unanimously.

Though Rullus and his party were very much daunted at the impression that Cicero's strong rea soning and invincible eloquence had made on the Senate, they notwithstanding carried the affair before the people, who alone had the right of deciding sinally, and where they hoped to find so much the greater favour for their law, as it seemed chiefly calculated for the advantage of the common people. And indeed, all the populace looked on Rullus as another Gracchus, as their patron and benefactor; being deluded by the temptation of the lands promised to be purchased for them in Italy.

But Cicero, though well apprized of that dispofition in the people, abated nothing of his courage and zeal; and on the day named for the assembly, he ordered the whole Senate to attend him thither. He accordingly appeared in the Forum at the head of that august body, preceded by his Lictors, and with all the majesty of a sovereign magistrate of the commonwealth. He mounted the Rostrum, and without minding either the invectives of the Tribunes, or the clamours of the people, he began his speech; and undertook to show the multitude how much that new law was contrary to their true

interests, and the public safety.

But as he had to deal with a multitude prejudized by their Tribunes against every thing that came from the Senate; like an artful orator, he took a very dextrous method to infinuate himself into their considence. He began his discourse with telling them, that he was himself a Plebeian, born in the Equestrian Order; and that he was beholden for his Consulate to nobody but themselves *.

" I am (faid he) the first new man whom in our " days you have made a Conful; and by chufing " me, you have gained a post, of which the nobi-" lity was always before possessed, and which they " defended with all their might. You have raifed " me to it with fo uncommon an unanimity, that " never any Patrician arrived to it with fo much " fplendor, nor any Plebeian with fo much glory. " And what ought to increase my attachment and " my gratitude towards the people, is, that in the " affembly, called for my election, you never came " to a balloting, which are figns of only a fecret " liberty; but you have exalted me to this high " station with acclamations and public rejoicings, " which perhaps do me more honour, than the " very dignity you have bestowed on me. Since " then I am a new man, and a Plebeian, that I owe " the dignity I am invested with entirely to the " people; I openly declare before the whole Se-" nate, and before all the nobility, that I am re-" folved to be a popular Conful; that nothing, " during my Confulate, shall be fo dear to me as " the interests of that people, to whom I have fuch " great obligations: and if possible, I will prevent

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^{*} Cic. in Rull. 2.

those funds from being ruined and funk, whence they have their chief strength, and receive their

" fubfistence in times of war."

" Not that I disapprove all the laws made con-" cerning the sharing of lands. There are some " which I hold in great esteem. The memory of " the two Gracchi shall always be dear to me; " those illustrious brothers, who facrificed their " lives to recover fuch lands for the people, as " fome private persons had unjustly usurped. The " Lex Sempronia will always be respected by all " honest men; but I cannot confent to that pro-" posed by Rullus, who, to dazzle your eyes, vainly " brags of the lands which he has not, nor ever " can have in his power to bestow on you. Un-" der so plausible a pretence, his design is to de-" prive us all of our liberty, and make himself the " tyrant of the commonwealth. This I undertake " to make you plainly fensible of; and if after you " shall have heard me, you are not fatisfied with " the folidity of my arguments, I promife you to " defift. I will receive the law at your hands; I " will fign it; and, as a popular Conful, I will con-" form myfelf to the majority of the people."

Then taking the law before him, he read it all over; and as, when he argued against it in the Senate, he chiefly applied himself to demonstrate, how the creation of those new magistrates would entirely ruin the authority of the old ones; now speaking to the people, he expatiated upon all those articles that might affect their liberty, and the privilege each citizen had of giving his voice at elections, and thereby to determine which laws should,

or should not pass.

"The first article of the law (said he) ordains,
"That he who proposed the same, shall establish
"Decemvirs by the suffrages of seventeen tribes
"chosen by lot; and that he shall be elected a Decemvir, whom nine of those seventeen tribes
Vol. II.

Bb "shall

" shall have voted for. I would fain ask this au-" dacious Tribune, how he dares deprive eighteen " tribes of their right of voting? Was there ever " one instance in the commonwealth, of a Trium-" vir or Decemvir being created without the con-" currence of all the five and thirty tribes? What " can be the defign of this Tribune, in introdu-" cing fo furprifing an innovation in our govern-" ment? You thall know it prefently: he doth " not want for contrivances; he only wants hone-" fly and faith towards the Roman people : he has " been wanting to justice, and has noways regard. " ed your rights or interests. Rullus moreover " pretends, that the author of this law shall pre-" fide in the affembly of the Roman people; that is to fay, Rullus ordains, That Rullus shall hold " the affembly. The fame Rullus, who will trust " nothing to the entire body of the Romans, or-" dains, That the tribes shall cast lots: and where-" as he has a lucky hand, and is to prefide there; " what tribe, think you, is like to come out of " the balloting-box, but fuch as he shall approve " of? And by a train of fuch contrivances, those " whom the nine tribes chosen by Rullus shall have " named to be Decemvirs, will be, under the au-" thority and direction of Rullus, our Lords and our masters, and the absolute dispensers of our Was ever any project more unjust, " more audacious, and more contrary to our laws? And who is the author of this new law? Rul-1 lus. Who is that man, who dares deprive the " greatest part of the people of their rights of vo-" ting? Rullus. Who is he, that has a fecret at " hand, to draw out of the urn none but the names of fuch tribes, where he is fure to have the greatest sway? Rullus. Who shall name, the " Decemvirs according to his own ends and interest? Rullus. Who shall be the first of these Decemyirs? Is that a question? Who should, er but

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but Rullus? In short, Who shall be the absolute master of all the domains and revenues of the commonwealth? The sole Rullus. Can you, Sirs, that are the masters and kings of so many nations, tamely take such usage? Scarce would so shameful a prevarication be suffered under the empire of a tyrant, and by a com-

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Cicero having thus endeavoured to raife the indignation of the people against this attempt upon their privileges, proceeded next to the other articles of that law. He showed the injustice and inconveniencies of them all. He repeated in this fecond speech part of what he had already faid before the Senate. He added, That a man, without any lawful authority, after having procured himfelf to be chosen a Decemvir, against the usual methods of elections, would think himself authorised to sell the domain of the commonwealth to whom he pleased, and at what rate he pleased. " monstrous robbery is this? (cried the Consul). "Who can doubt, but that the buyer and feller " will often be the same person; tho' perhaps the " true buyer may not appear but under a borrow-" ed name? But pray, where is this scene to be " acted? Do you fancy it will be in the public For " rum, in the fight of all the citizens; as the " cenfors use, when they farm out the revenues of " the commonwealth? No, Sirs; Rullus, nor his " colleagues care not to be fo public. They defign " to lurk in dark corners, that shall conceal their " fraud and robberies: the author of the law, " who has taken all his measures right, provides-" and ordains, That they shall be at liberty to make " their fales where-ever they shall think fit."

We should be obliged wholly to transcribe the three speeches which Cicero made on this occasion, if we would rehearse every particular argument which this excellent orator opposed to the establish-

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ment of fo dangerous a law. In short, he spoke fo much to the purpose, that he convinced the people, that they could not pass and receive it without destroying their own liberty, and ruining the commonwealth. All the projects of Rullus and his colleagues were rejected unanimously. "On "the first of January, (said Cicero in his oration against Piso), I freed the Senate, and all honest

" men, from the fear of this law *."

But it proved a harder talk for him to diffipate the terrors which were occasioned by the ill defigns of Catiline and his party. Not that all the world was equally at the bottom of his plot: Various were the opinions about it in Rome: those that were the most favourable to that ringleader of sedition, pretended, that all his aim was against Cicero, whom he hated, faid they, for having carried the last election for Conful from him. Others gave out, that this ambitious Patrician, educated under the absolute government of Sylla, defigned, during the absence of Pompey, who was at a great distance, to revive a perpetual Dictatorship, as he had done. And all these reports, whose authors were unknown, had a mixture of falfity and truth, and wonderfully increased the uneafiness of the Senate, and the fears of honest men.

Cicero was better informed: Fulvia, mentioned above, hid nothing from him of what she could learn by her lover Curius, one of the heads of the conspiracy. But the evidence of one single woman of ill repute was not sufficient to authorise a regular prosecution against a man of Catiline's birth, whose relations and friends were the most considerable in the Senate. The Consul saw very well, that he needed other proofs, and such evidences as could not be excepted against. He therefore sent spies into all their cabals. It is even said, that he

^{*} Cicero in Pifon. Plin. 1. 7. c. 30.

gained over some of the conspirators themselves, who, as he directed them, pretended to be the warmest promoters of the plot. It was by their help that he discovered the designs of Catiline, the various sentiments of those of his party, the number and quality of his adherents, and the general, as well as the

private views of each of the conspirators.

As he always kept faithful spies among those hotheads, he was in a manner witness of their discourses, resolutions, and even their thoughts. He learned with as much furprize as forrow, that this band of profligates had formed a plot to fet fire to feveral parts of the city: that during the confufion and uproar which fo general a conflagration would cause, they had agreed to murder the chief men of the Senate in their very houses; and that at the same time they would cause the troops under Manlius to advance, in order to make themselves masters of Rome, and the government. Whilst the conspirators were hugging themselves with the prospect of immense treasures, and a boundless authority from the fuccess of their cruel designs, news was brought and spread all over Rome, that Pompey, having fubdued a great part of the East, was returning to Italy at the head of a victorious Catiline, frightened at this unfeafonable accident, which ruined all his defigns, resolved to hasten the execution of them. He confers with the chief of his party; he fpeaks to each of them in private; he renews his promifes and the hopes he had given them, that in a change of the government they should find an entire facisfaction of all their wishes. At last he calls them all together in the night, in a private part of Lecca's house, and represented to them, that Pompey's return would defeat all their measures, unless they had courage enough to prevent him: that their undertaking was fo much the easier, as there was no troops neither in Rome nor in Italy; and their enemies B b 3

might be crushed before they could foresee the

blow that was prepared for them.

" It is in your power, (faid he), to be masters " of Rome to-morrow ". Pompey is yet far off; " the town is without any defence; and the Se-" nate composed mostly of people without courage; " depressed with age, or unmanned by luxury. As " for us, we want neither strength nor courage, "We are numerous, and most of us of the best " families in the Roman state. The people, who " always hated the Senate, will declare for us; " and we have out of Rome all those brave fol-" diers of Sylla, who, united under the command " of Manlius, wait only for your orders. It be-" hoves us only to begin; the whole depends upon " our quickness and dispatch in executing; and " you will meet with honour and wealth in the

" fuccess of your enterprize."

This difcourfe was received with great applause. Then feveral opinions were offered, and the most violent was still the best liked. As they stood in fear of Cicero's forefight and firmness, they agreed to begin with making away with a man who, by the authority that his confulate gave him, might traverse the execution of their projects. It was resolved at the same time to fet fire to an hundred different parts of the city, to cut the water-pipes, in order to disable them from putting out the fire; to murder the whole Senate; and to fpare none but Pompey's children, whom they should retain as hoftages, against the power and refentment of that formidable warrior. That next to this, Catiline should put himself at the head of the forces which Manlius had raised, and should fettle his authority in the state in the same manner that Sylla had done before; and should even change the conflitution as he should find it most for his interest.

Cethegus, and Cornelius, a Roman knight, offered to go and stab Cicero in his own house; and the night preceding the Saturnalia was fixed for firing

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From council they went to a plentiful entertainment, which was accompanied with most horr bledebauchery, and those shameful crimes which nature itself starts at. It is faid, that young men were not ashamed to prostitute themselves to the chiefs of the conspiracy; and that Catiline, to bind all the confpirators with the bonds of equal guilt and fury, presented them with a bowl filled with human blood and wine mingled, of which they all drank. But some of these facts are not so well proved in hiftory; and, perhaps, were only grounded on the general prejudice against that monster of a man; a prejudice which inclined men to believe, that the fame root which produced fo great a crime as the conspiracy, carried in itself every thing abominable.

The confpirators were no fooner parted, but Cicero had notice given him by Fulvia, of the danger of the commonwealth, and particularly of the defigns formed against his own life. As he was a man of very regular manners, wife, temperate, and besides of great experience, he had a vast advantage over a parcel of furious and passionate people, whose defigns were always contrived in wine and riots *. He began with regulating every thing in his own house; and Cethegus calling there the next morning early, under pretence that he had business of great moment to communicate to the Conful, entrance was denied him. He went away complaining and threatening, which rendered him ftill more fuspected.

However, Cicero not thinking his own authority fufficient to diffipate so powerful a cabal, called

[·] Plut, in Cic.

the Senate together: he went thither, attended with a vast number of his friends and clients; and put a coat of mail under his robe, which he showed defignedly, thereby to intimate the danger he was exposed to. He communicated the whole plot to the Senate. He told them, that the commonwealth had enemies within, as well as out of Rome. and that whilft Catiline was forming the defign of fetting fire to the city, and to murder the whole Senate, and the chief citizens, Manlius was, on his fide, endeavouring to make Tufcany revolt : that he had put himself at the head of all the vagabonds in Italy, and that the inhabitants of the colonies planted by Sylla, and the veteran foldiers of that Dictator, who had fpent in luxury and excess all that their former robberies had supplied them with, had joined that rebel, and were preparing to come to Rome, in order to renew the fury of Sylla and Marius's profcriptions.

As there were a good many of the conspirators that were Senators themselves, Cicero did not think it yet a proper time to name those by whom he had been informed. But the considence and trust in his probity was so great, that the Senate, without requiring he should prove his allegations, or produce witnesses, by a public decree ordained, that the Consuls should take care, "that no detriment came to the commonwealth:" an ancient form, by which the magistrates for the time being had the amplest power conferred on them; which however, they were never trusted with, but in the great-

eft danger of the ftate.

Cicero, invested with so great an authority, which his colleague most entirely left to him, sent immediately certain Senators, and some of the honestess men of the commonwealth, to the principal towns in Italy, to retain the people in their duty. He at the same time settled in different parts of Rome, courts of guard, to prevent, or to stop the incendiaries. The Senate, by his advice, in order

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to be informed of the particulars, promifes a pardon, and even a reward to those of the conspirators, who should come and make any useful discoveries But those profligates were fo strictly linked together, and so bent upon mischief, that among so large a number of them, who were either at Rome, or in Manlius's army, there was not a fingle man, whom either the fear of punishment, or hopes of reward, could draw to discover the ill defigns of his accomplices. The common people, always defirous of novelty, even favoured that party; and as usual, flattered themselves with bettering their condition in the change of the government, and the public diffurbances. Catiline himself, or his emissaries, had spread and propagated among the people of all degrees, a spirit of fedition and rebellion; and you might have found in this conspiracy, not only Senators, but Knights, Plebeians, and even flaves.

The particulars of their defigns were yet better discovered by means of a packet left by an unknown person with Crassus's porter. There were in this packet letters directed to feveral different people, all without the name of their writer, and another without a direction, which last Crassus opened. He found therein the whole plan of the conspiracy: he was therein admonished, if he valued his life, forthwith to leave Rome. As no body was ignorant, that there had always been a pretty great intimacy between Catiline and him, left he should make himself suspected, he carried the packet to the Conful, who caused it to be read before the whole Senate. Whilst that body was deliberating upon it, Catiline came in as if he had no ways been concerned in the affair. But when he was going to feat himfelf among the Senators, all his brethren left him, and not one would remain upon the same bench with him. Cicero, who was prefident of the assembly, no longer able to conceal his indignation, directed his speech to him with that thundring eloquence, werewith he used so ef-

fectually to terrify the guilty.

" How long, Catiline, dost thou design to abuse " our patience? How long are we yet to be the ob-" ject of thy fury? How far doft thou defign to " carry thy guilty audaciousness? Dont you per-" ceive, by the continual watch all over the city, " by the scared looks of the people, and by the " angry countenance of the Senators, that your " defigns are discovered? Faithful eyes are upon " all your proceedings; you cannot keep any coun-" fel fo fecret, but that I hear of it; I am present " there myself; I am present to your very thoughts. " Do you fancy that I am ignorant of what paffed " last night at M. Lecca's house? Did not you " there distribute employments, and divide all Italy " into shares with your accomplices? Some are to " take the field under the command of Manlius, " and others to ftay in the city, to fire it in a hun-" dred different places at a time. During the dif-" order and tumult occasioned by so general a fire, " the Conful, and most of the Senators, are to be " maffacred in their own houses. The Senate, that " august and facred affembly, is informed of the " most minute circumstances of the plot : yet does " Catiline live; not only lives, but is one among " us, hears us, and looks on us as fo many facri-" fices. Whilft I am now speaking, he is marking " out those whom he designs for death; yet we " are so patient, or rather so weak, that we are less. " intent on the method how to punish his crimes, " than how we shall preserve ourselves from his " fury."

Catiline stood this vehement discourse with a deep diffimulation; and at first, answered it only by conjuring the Senate, they would not hearken or give credit to the invectives of his enemy, and of a new man, an upstart, who had not in Rome

fo much as a house of his own, and who had forged the plan of a conspiracy, to get himself a name, and acquire the title of " Defender of his country." He added to this a great many other reflections upon Cicero; but he was interrupted by a general murmuring, which hindered him from being heard. The whole Senate-house rung with nothing but the names of incendiary, of parricide and enemy to his country. Catiline, provoked at these reproaches, pale with anger, and his eyes burning with rage, cried out in a furious passion, that fince they would provoke him to the utmost, he would not fall alone, but would involve in his fate those who had resolved his ruin. Upon this he instantly went out of the Senate, and fent for to his house Lentulus, Cethegus, and the chief of the conspiracy. He gave them an account of what had just happened in the Senate; and made them fenfible, that he could no longer with fafety stay at Rome; that he was going to put himself at the head of the forces which Manlius had raifed for him in feveral parts of Hetruria; and that after he had made one army of them all, he would advance with it to Rome: that it was incumbent on them who stayed in town, to turn all their thoughts towards the destroying of the Conful, the only man who could lay an obstacle in the way of their defigns: that, above all things, he admonished them to gain the youth of Rome to their party, and to increase the number of their friends.

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ne fo. He went away the night following, accompanied with three hundred armed men, directly to Manlius. He had no fooner affembled the forces that he had made himself sure of, but he took all the public tokens of a sovereign magistrate, and was preceded by ushers carrying sasces before him. The Senate, informed of so open a rebellion, ordained that the Consul Antonius should immediately march against the rebels at the head of the legions;

legions; and that Cicero should remain in the

city to watch for its prefervation.

In the mean time Lentulus, and the other chiefs of the conspiracy, applied themselves, according to Catiline's instructions, to the gaining over more partifans. They endeavoured to draw into the plot the ambaffadors of the Allobroges, then at Rome. They were come to Rome, to defire the Senate to eafe fomewhat in the taxes laid on them, and the accumulated interest whereof for many years, did now, through the ruinous art of usurers, amount to more than the real value of their lands. But the infatiable avarice of those who farmed those taxes, and the inflexibility of the magistrates, was the occasion that no notice was taken of their mifery. The very fund and property of those estates, was not fufficient to discharge those debts; and they were in a just fear of feeing their wives and children forthwith fold for flaves, to fatisfy those cruel exactions.

Lentulus, having discovered that those deputies were greatly incenfed against the Senate, resolved to take advantage of their disposition. As the Allobroges were a warlike people, he flattered himfelf he should draw a considerable assistance from them, if he could determine them to take up arms, and to join Catiline's army. Umbrenus, one of the conspirators, and who had some acquaintance with one of the deputies, was commissioned to treat with them. Under pretence of enquiring after their affairs, he accosts them, and asks them what they thought would be the iffue of their business? " No other than death (faid they), fince the Senate " is not moved with our just complaints." Umbrenus, to infinuate himfelf into their confidence, pities them, blames the Senate's hard-heartedness, offers his own fervice, and that of his friends, beftirs him much, and feemingly follicits for them. These good offices engaged them to a more freuent

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quent conversation; they gradually begin to confide in each other, and at last a firm friendship and union is established. Then does Umbrenus tell them, (but by way of fecrecy), that they must expect nothing from the Senate, whose politics require them to keep the subjects of the state in a continual poverty, and an humble dependance. He adds, that there was, however, one remedy left for their misfortunes, and he knew a method to deliver them from all their debts at once; but that it required secrecy and courage. Those deputies declared, that no undertaking could be fo difficult, but that they were ready for it, if thereby they could but free their nation from the tyranny of the money-lenders; and they intreated Umbrenus at the same time to discover to them the means of breaking their bonds. But that Roman did not think fit to disclose himself more, before he had conferred upon it with Lentulus, and the other chiefs of the conspiracy. His conduct was approved, and, to add more weight to the treaty, Gabinius was joined with him. Thefe two men began their conferences with the Allobroges in Sempronia's house.

Gabinius, after having exacted from them the most solemn oaths, discovered the whole plan of the plot to them; and the number and strength of the conspirators, which he made still more considerable than they actually were. He added, that if their nation would take up arms, and join Catiline, they should have all the sureties given them, which they could desire, of a general discharge of

They parted after several proposals, and agreed to meet again the night following, to put the treaty in form, which as yet was only minuted down. But no sooner were those deputies alone, but the greatness of the danger wherein they were going to plunge their nation, and the uncertainty of the Vol. II.

event, began to make them uneafy. Subsequent thoughts weakened their first resolutions. On one side indeed they saw an army in the field, sustained in Rome by a powerful party, composed of a great number of people of the first rank and distinction. But they saw, on the other side, the lawful authority, the Consuls, the Senate, and the legions. They might even flatter themselves, that by revealing the secret of the conspiracy, they might by way of reward obtain the abolition, or at least a considerable abatement of their debts.

In this uncertainty they refolved to do nothing without the advice of Q. Fabius Sanga, who was the protector of the Allobroges, according to the custom of those times, in which all the different nations, subjected or allied to the commonwealth, had in the Senate one of that body, who took care of their interests. Sanga, after having represented to them the horror and danger of such an undertaking, agreed with them to go instantly to the Conful. and inform him of the proposals made to those deputies. Cicero would see them himself; he gained them with more solid hopes than those of the conspirators. They devoted themselves entirely to his orders, and agreed with him to continue to treat with the chiefs of the conspiracy.

Lentulus hereupon, together with Cethegus, Statilius, and the principals of that plot, meet fecretly in a place agreed on. The deputies came thither likewife: the affair for which they met, was debated anew. The confpirators fhow how advantageous and how eafy the thing was: the Allobroges thart their difficulties, and demand fuitable furcties. At last, after many struggles, they feign to be convinced. The treaty is engrossed; they sign it, together with all the chiefs of the plot: a duplicate is made of it, equally signed by all the parties; and the deputies demand it should be left and trusted with them, that they might communicate it to the chiefs

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chiefs of their nation, who feeing the hands of fo many confiderable men, would so much the sooner be disposed to ratify the treaty. It was agreed, they should set out at night for their own country; and should take their way through Catiline's camp, to get his ratification. Lentulus gave them letters for Catiline, which contained the plan of the conspiracy, and the measures they had taken with his accomplices to kill the Conful, and the best part of the Senators: and one of the conspirators, called Volturcius, of the city of Crotona, undertook to convoy those deputies to Catiline, and acquaint him what method was agreed on to make their nation rise up in arms.

Cicero being informed by the Allobroges, that they were to fet out the very night following, fent fecretly two Prætors with a fufficient number of guards, who posted themselves upon the Milvian bridge, where they must needs pass. The Allobroges arrived accordingly, and were arrested with all that were with them. They surrendered to the Prætors without making any resistance, like people surprized and frightned. Voltureius was taken with them, together with a box, wherein were all the

letters of the conspirators.

The Consul having now in his power the proofs of the conspiracy, summoned the Senate very early in the morning to the temple of Concord; and sent to arrest Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius and Ceparius, who were brought under a guard before the assembly * At the same time the deputies of the Allobroges were brought in, together with Volturcius, who, upon promise of his pardon, unfolded the whole mystery of the conspiracy †. Their letters were read publicly; and Lentulus, being convicted by his own hand-writing, was obliged upon the spot to divest himself of the

^{*} App. de Bello Civ. l. 2. c. 1, † Salust in Catil.

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Prætorship. He quitted his purple robe; another was given him more suitable to his present condition; and he with his accomplices were severally carried to separate houses, which served them for prisons ‡. Cethegus found means to convey a note to some of his friends and freedmen; by which he encouraged them to get the whole party up, and to try the utmost in the night to set him at liberty. Cicero, fearing some dangerous tumult in their behalf, summoned the Senate together again in the evening, to come to an ultimate resolution concern-

ing the prisoners.

Syllanus, Consul-elect for the year ensuing, and who, according to cuftom, was asked his advice first, declared, that every one of them deserved to die. All that voted after him were of the same opinion, except Julius Cæfar, who made a long speech in praise of clemency; and concluded, faying, "That in an affair which concerned the lives " of citizens, and the principal Patricians in Rome, " it was adviseable not to be too hasty in giving " judgment; but that they should be well guarded, " and kept in some towns of Italy, till Catiline had " been vanquished." As he was an excellent orator, he brought most of the Senators back to his opinion. Even Syllanus, who had voted first for putting them to death without delay, retracted and faid, "That when he gave it as his opinion, that " they ought to be condemned to the highest pu-" nishment, it ought to be understood only of " imprisonment, which was, faid he, the greatest " punishment that could be inflicted on a Roman " citizen."

But Cato, when it came to his turn to vote, did in fuch lively colours represent the horrors of their designs; he showed with so many unanswerable arguments, that their lives were incompatible with I.

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the fafety of the state; and that, to fave a small number of profligates, they were in a manner plunging a dagger into the bosom of every honest man, that the whole Senate returned to their former opinion. The sentence of their death was pronounced; and Cicero, upon the decree of the Senate only, and without carrying it before the affembly of the people according to custom, had them executed that moment in the feveral prisons where they had been confined. It is faid, that after this execution he met in the Forum a great number of their kindred and accomplices, who yet knew nothing of their fate, and who were only waiting for the night to rescue them; and that, turning himself towards them, he cried out to them, (Vixerunt) they have lived; a foftened way which the Romans were wont to express themselves in, to avoid the harshness of the phrase, (Mortui funt) they are dead; and that this only word, like a thunder-bolt, did in an instant dissipate that multitude of conspirators, and broke all their defigns.

It is impossible to express the joy which the people showed, when they faw fo dangerous a plot quashed, and the conspirators punished Nothing was heard but curfing of Catiline, and praising of Cicero: most waited on him to his own house. Even the women, to express their gratitude, put out lights at their windows, as to light him. night was more glorious to him, than a day of triumph ever was to the most victorious general. People scrupled not to fay, that great generals had indeed acquired whole provinces for the commonwealth; but that Cicero, without troops, without battles, without bloodshed had faved it from ruin. He was called the second founder of Rome, and the father of his country. All the feveral orders of the state devo ed themselves to him; and his authority was so much the more folid, as he owed it to his own virtue only, and the efteem as well as gra-

titude of his fellow citizens.

Cæfar, though very considerable in the state by his birth, his eloquence, and his own credit and that of his friends, was treated in a quite different manner*. He had before been suspected of having dark defigns; and Cicero had been heard to fay more than once, that he observed fomething in his whole conduct, that discovered a spirit secretly aiming at tyranny. What he had done to fave the lives of the plotters, increased those suspicions. When he came out of the Senate, where he had spoke with so much warmth to fave them from being put to death, the knights, who were upon duty, held the points of their fwords with a threatning countenance towards him +. They would have killed him; but Cicero, whose looks they watched as to receive their orders from him, made them a fign to let him escape

Not but that it was then reported, that he had been charged home by some of the conspirators with being engaged in the plot himself: but Cicero, who was very sensible how great his credit was already in Rome, purposely avoided impeaching him with the rest, lest by his credit, escaping himself the rigour of the laws, he might at the same time save the rest of the criminals: all the world was however convinced, that he had been privy to all their evil designs; and he was from that time looked upon as a man capable of undertaking any thing to make

himfelf great.

The news of the execution of Lentulus and Cethegus was no fooner brought to Catiline's camp, but several of the plotters, seeing the party of the commonwealth prevailed, got off privately. There was even a great number of soldiers, whom the desire of novelty and the hope of plunder had engaged in Catiline's party, that deserted him. But the head of the party abated nothing of his first designs. He

Ap. Alex. l. 2. c. 1. † Plut. in Cafare.

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refolved either to perish himself, or to ruin the commonwealth. He made new levies; he compleated his cohorts with them, and in a short time filled up his legions: they were all mad with fury, and thirsting after the blood of their own countrymen.

The first design of Catiline, as we said above, was to advance with his army to the very gates of Rome, at the same time that the conspirators should begin to act their part within, by setting fire to different quarters of the town at once. But the Consul having broke all their measures by his vigilance, and by putting to death the chiefs of the plot, the chief of the conspiracy resolved to pass over into Gaul, and to cause all the provinces that acknowledged the Roman empire to revolt. Q. Metellus Celer, having penetrated into his design, cut off his way thither by incamping just where he must needs pass, at the same time that the Consul Antonius

followed him close with his army.

Catiline feeing himfelf furrounded with enemies, and having no place in Italy to retreat to, nor any help to hope from Rome, was obliged to hazard a battle, though with forces inferior to those of Antony. That Conful, being at that time laid up with the gout, left the conduct of his army to Petreius, an old officer, who had been in the fervice above thirty years, and who from a private centinel had raised himself by his merit to the degree of a gene-But this fudden illness of the Conful, who was rather a weak than a wicked man, made it fulpected that he was tender of Catiline, with whom he had had engagements formerly; and he was even accused of it afterwards before the magistrate. It was faid, that this fit of the gout, which came upon him just on the eve before he was to fight the enemy of the commonwealth, was but a pretence, and a feigned illness either to retard the ruin of Catiline, or at least to have no hand in it himself. But the rebels reaped no manner of advantage from this affected

affected delay. Petreius, from a lieutenant-general now rifen to be general, pressed so hard upon them, that he forced them to come to a battle. The fight was fierce and obstinate. If the legions of the commonwealth fought with great valour, those of Catiline behaved themselves with no less obstinacy : all were refolved to vanquish, or to die. Not a man gave way: there was none that would either give or accept of quarter. The living foldier immediately stepped into the place of his companion that fell before him: it was not till after a great flaughter, and long refistance, that the army of the state at last defeated that of the rebels: every man of them was cut to pieces: Catiline, who was resolved not to furvive the ruin of his party, threw himfelf, with the other captains, into the thickest of the fight; and after the battle, that famous chief was found, with fome little remains of life in him, upon a heap of dead bodies. Through the agonies of death were yet feen the marks of that audaciousness and fierceness natural to him during his life.

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HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTIONS

That happened in the Government

OFTHE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK XIII.

Casar unites with Pompey and Crassus, and is chosen Consul. Cicero banished: he is recalled. The government of Gaul and of Illyrium is conferred on Casar, who employs the wealth of those provinces to secure the soldiery to him, and make himself creatures in Rome. The credit which his victories and his money gain him, makes Pompey uncasy, who openly breaks with him. Rome and all the provinces divide between those two great men, who decide their quarrel in the plains of Pharsalia. Casar, become master of the whole empire, is assassinated

finated like a tyrant, notwithstanding his clemency.

TTE have just now seen what success attended a conspiracy, which the indiscretion of the conspirators betrayed, and the wife conduct of Cicero entirely defeated. Debauchery, luxury, and poverty, the natural confequence of the former, had given it birth: the uncommon ambition of fome private men strengthened it, at a time when Rome had fcarce any thing left of a republican government, befides the bare name. The great ones only reigned with an absolute authority. The whole administration was centered in a few families, who handed the confular dignity about to one another. A fmall number of citizens did, by turns, dispose of the command of the armies, as also the government and revenues of the provinces. They being arbiters of peace and war, and accustomed to the homages and honours that go along with fovereign power, it happened very feldom, that any of them, at the quitting of their great places, could eafily refolve to return to that level which a private life reduced them to with their fellow-citizens. Some gained the affections of their foldiers, either by allowing them a remiffness in the military discipline, or by felf-interested liberalities. Others bought with large fums the votes of the people, to raife themselves to the chief posts, or to substitute their own creatures in their room. Those that were outbribed, and loft the day, eafed their envy, by endeavouring to render the power of their rivals fufpected; and cast about to promote their ruin at the expence of the public peace. The honest men, as Cato, Cicero, Catulus, and others, all zealous republicans, looked on that exceffive power of fome citizens, their immense riches, and the common affection of the armies for their generals, as fo mapy steps towards flavery. They could not bear that those

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those great men, under pretence of ferving their country, should make themselves perpetual in such offices, whose supreme authority was liable to tempt them to make themselves independent. It was from those opposite views and different interests, that the last commotions of the commonwealth arose, wherein the whole world in a manner took part, fome fiding with Pompey, fome with Cæfar, the two chiefs of two great parties, and both equally fufpected and feared on account of their ambition and valour. Pompey drew in a manner the eyes of the whole world upon him: as we faid above, he was a general before he was a foldier, and his whole life was no less than a continual train of victories. He had made war in the three (then known) parts of the world, and always returned home loaded with laurels. He had vanquished Carinas and Carbo, of Marius's party in Italy; Domitius in Africa; Sertorius, or rather Perpenna, in Spain; the pyrates of Cilicia, in the Mediterranean; and fince Catiline's defeat, he was returned home, after having fubdued Mithridates and Tygranes. By fo many victories and conquests, he was become greater than the Romans wished him, and than he could himself have expected. In that high degree of glory to which fortune had all along in a manner handed him, he thought it became his dignity to forbear being too familiar with his fellow-citizens. He feldom appeared abroad; and if he came out of his house, he was always followed by a crowd of his dependants, whose numerous appearance looked more like the court of a great prince, than the attendance of a citizen of a republic. Not that he made an ill use of his power; but men of a free city could scarce bear he should thus affect the manners and ways of a fovereign. Being accustomed from his youth to the command of armies, he could not reduce himfelf again to the fimplicity of a private life. His morals indeed were

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pure and untainted; he was even juftly celebrated for his temperance; no body ever suspected him of covetousness; and in the pursuit of dignities, he was less fond of the power that is inseparable from them, than of the honours and fplendor that furrounds them. But more affected by show than ambition, he continually strove for honours, that might raife him above all the commanders of his time. Moderate on every other account, he could not bear any body should pretend to an equal share of glory: he was offended at any equality therein, and it feemed as if he coveted to be the only general of the commonwealth, when he should have contented himself with being the first. This jealoufy of the command created him a great many enemies, of whom Cæfar was afterwards the most dangerous, and dreaded. The one, as we have feen, could bear no equal; the other no fuperior. This ambitious competition, in two of the greatest men of the universe, caused new revolutions; of which it will be proper to unravel the first beginnings, and the fuccess.

Caius Julius Cæfar was born of the illustrious family of the Julii; which, like all other great families, had its chimera of bragging that it derived its origin from Anchifes and Venus. He was the best shaped man of his time, dextrous at all manner of exercises; indefatigable, full of valour, and of an exalted courage, forming vast defigns; magnificent in his expences, and liberal even to prodigality. Nature, which feemed to have framed him to command all the rest of mankind, had given him an air of empire, and a dignity of aspect inexpresfible. But that air of grandeur was allayed by the fweetness and gentleness of his manners. His infinuating and invincible eloquence was yet more owing to the charms of his person, than to the strength of his arguments. Those that were hard enough to refift the strong impression which so

many fine qualities made, could not withftand his good offices: and he began with conquering men's hearts, the furest foundation of the empire he aspired to. Born a fimple citizen of a commonwealth, he formed in a private life the project of becoming the mafter and fovereign of his country, The greatness, nor the dangers of fuch an undertaking did not deter him. He found nothing fuperior to his ambition, but the vast extent of his defigns. The late inftances of Marius and Sylla made him fenfible, that it was no impossible thing to raife one's felf to the supreme power. But wife and discreet even in his immoderate defires, he shared out to different seasons the execution of his projects. His conceptions, always just, notwithflanding their extensiveness, carried him only by degrees towards his plan of fovereignty; and however confpicuous his victories will hereafter appear, we ought to call them great actions, only on this account, that they were always the confequences and effect of his vaft defigns.

Scarce was Sylla dead, but he put in for public employments: he brought with him all his ambition. His birth, one of the most conspicuous in the commonwealth, ought to have devoted him to the Senate, and the Patrician party: but being a nephew of Marius, and Cinna's fon-in-law, he declared for their party, though almost ruined fince Sylla's Dictatorship He undertook to revive that party, which was that of the Plebeians, and he flattered himself soon to be at the head of it: whereas in the other party, he must have stooped under Pompey's authority, who was at the head of the Senate. Sylla, as we observed before, had caused Marius's trophies to be taken down during his Dictatorship. Cæsar was but an Ædile, when he caused the statue of Marius, crowned by the hands of Victory, fecretly to be made by fome of VOL. II.

the best hands *. He added some inscriptions to Year of his honour, which mentioned his victory over the Cimbri; and he caused these Rome. trophies to be placed in the capitol in the 690. night. All the people of Rome run the next morning to fee this fight Sylla's adherents greatly cenfured fo bold an undertaking. No body doubted but it was Cæfar's doing. His enemies gave out, that he aimed at tyranny, and that fuch a man ought to be punished, who durst of his private authority raife trophies again, which a sovereign magistrate had caused to be taken down: but the people, of whom Marius had declared himself the protector, extolled Cæsar to the ikies. Hereupon the Senate met. Cæfar was publicly impeached: Catulus Luctatius, one of the chiefs, cried aloud, That it was no longer by private contrivances and plots that men now attempted the fovereign power, but that Cæfar was invading the public liberty barefaced. Cæfar, on his part, undertook to justify his conduct; and pleaded his cause with so much strength of eloquence, that, notwithstanding the cabal of his enemies, he was absolved; and, by so bold an action, made the people sensible of his own power, and the weakness of the Senate. The exil'd, under the countenance of his authority, returned to Rome; and he procured their being recalled, under pretence, that they had been condemned by a citizen who had feized on the Dictatorship and fovereign power with an armed force.

The people, charmed with the zeal he expressed for their party, sounded nothing but his praises; they spoke it aloud in Rome, that he was the only man, who by his courage and undauntedness deferved to succeed Marius in his dignities. The most considerable of all the tribes, and the heads

^{*} Plut. in Cæfar.

of all the factions, affured him, that there was nothing fo high in the commonwealth, but what he might pretend to; and that he might depend on the votes of the people: and it was not long before they gave him proofs of their zeal, and of their

being devoted entirely to his interest.

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The high-priest Metellus being dead, Catulus Luctatius, who had been Conful, and was respected by all the Romans for his virtue, demanded to be admitted to that dignity. Cæfar, though of an inferior rank, and who had not yet been honcured , with the Confulate, put up for it nevertheless among the rest of the candidates Luctatius, who looked upon him as the most considerable, and a powerful competitor, because of his credit with the people, fent to offer him a large fum, if he would drop his pretentions. But Cæfar had too great a foul to be dazzled with a fordid lucre. He fent to Luctatius, to tell him, that far from accepting of his money, he would rather borrow of all his friends to maintain his pretensions. But he had no occasion to do fo; the people were too much in his interest, and the votes having been summed up, he carried it from Luctatius and all his competitors.

He was raised to the Prætorship with the same ease; and when his time in that office was expired, the people conferred on him the Rome, government of Spain. It is faid, that pafting over the Alps thither, he went thro' a small town, with but very few inhabitants in it, and those extreemely poor and miserable; and that those who attended him, asking each other in a joking way, Whether there were any parties in that country-town, and canvaffing for the magiflracy? Cæfar joining in their convertation, told them, "That he would rather chuse to be the first " in that poor village, than the fecond in Rome."

^{*} Plut. in Cafar.

All Cæfar's care, during his being in that government, was to extend its limits. He carried the war into Galicia and Lufitania, which he subjected to the Roman empire; but in a conquest of such benefit to the state, he did not neglect his private ad-He engroffed all the filver and gold of those provinces by violent contributions, and therewith returned to Rome, where he was received

with new applauses by the people.

The riches he brought with him thence, was very confiderable: he employed it to make himfelf new creatures, whom he attached to his fortune by his repeated liberalities and prefents. He, as it were, abandoned all he had to them; his house was open for them at all times; nothing was hid from them but his heart, which even his dearest friends could never found. He was capable of undertaking and of concealing every thing; always watchful, always present at all the cabals from which he could draw any advantage; but without ever discovering his mind. It was not doubted but he would have put himself at the head of Catiline's plot, if it had fucceeded; and that famous rebel, who fancied he was promoting his own greatness only, would have feen the fruits of his guilt fnatched from him by a man of a fuperior interest in his own party, and who had cunning enough to let him go through all the dangers of the execution of the enterprize. Yet the ill fuccess of that undertaking, and the remembrance of the death of the Gracchi, affaffinated before the multitude, who adored them, made him fenfible, that the fole favour of the people was not sufficient to carry his designs to perfection; and he rightly judged, that he could never arrive to the fupreme power without the command of armies, and having a great number of friends, and even a party in the Senate.

That august affembly was then divided betwixt Pompey and Craffus, enemies and rivals in the go-

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vernment, the one the mightieft, and the other the richest in Rome. The commonwealth drew at least this advantage from their disunion, that by dividing the Senate, it kept their power in a balance, and maintained its liberty. Cæfar refolved to unite himself sometimes with one, sometimes with the other, and as it were to borrow their credit from time to time, with a defign to make use of it for arriving the easier to the dignity of Conful, and the command of armies. But as he could not be friends at the fame time with two open enemies. he at first only meditated how he should reconcile them. He succeeded in it, and he alone profited by a reconciliation fo detrimental to the public liberty. He artfully perfuaded Pompey and Craffus to trust him with the Consulate, as a pledge which they both warmly pretended to, and which neither could have feen the other enjoy without jealoufy. He was elected Conful, together with Calphurnius Bibulus, by the agreement of the two Year of united parties. He fecretly gained the most considerable, of which he formed a third party, which in the end overthrew 694. those very men who had the most contributed to his advancement.

Rome faw itself then become a prey to the ambition of three men, who by the credit of their united parties arbitrarily disposed of all the dignities and employments in the commonwealth. Craffus, always covetous, and too rich for a private perfon, was lefs intent upon strengthening his party than upon heaping up more riches. Pompey, fatisfied with the outward marks of respect and veneration that the fplendor of his victories gave him, enjoyed his credit and reputation in a dangerous floth. But Cæfar, of better parts and more referved than either, was filently laying the foundation of his own grandeur on the too great fecurity of both. He forgot no means to preserve their confidence, whilst, with repeated prefents, he endeavoured to Dd 3 gain gain those Senators that were the most devoted to them. The friends of Pompey and Crassus became unwarily Cæsar's creatures: and that he might know all that was transacted within their private dwellings, he bribed even their freed men, who

could refuse nothing to his liberal temper.

But as these new engagements with Pompey and Craffus, the heads of the Senate, might render him fuspected to the people; he was no sooner elected Conful, but he declared himself anew for a party, which he always thought the most folid foundation of his future greatness. The dextrous manner in which he at one and the fame time created a difference between Pompey and the Senate, and between the Senate and the people, was the masterpiece of his politicks and ability. He undertook to revive the Lex Agraria. He forefaw, that the confent of Pompey and Craffus, which he had before hand made fure of, and the opposition of Cato, Cicero, and all zealous commonwealthmen, would create reciprocal enmities betwixt them; and that the people, always blind to their own interest, would declare against those Senators, without heeding that they opposed Cæsar with no other view than to preferve the public liberty. It was as Conful that he foon proposed the passing of a law in the Senate, by which all the lands of Campania should be distributed to twenty thousand such citizens as had at least three children. They were lands, whose revenue, because of their fertility, had been always referved for the most pressing occasions of the state. The honestest part of the Senate opposed this law with all their might. Cæfar, who had foreseen this opposition, immediately cried out, that he took the Gods to witness, they forced him to have recourse to the authority of the people. He accordingly fummoned their affembly, and appeared there accompanied with Pompey and Craffus. He directed his speech to Pompey; and asked him, whether he did

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did not approve of a law fo equitable in a commonwealth, whose members ought all to share the public estates? In vain did the Senators about Pompey endeavour to make him fuspect Cæsar's intentions; Pompey, without fo much as hearing their reasons, declared himself of his opinion: whether he thought himself obliged in honour to support his first engagements, or that, presuming too much on his own power compared to Cæfar's credit, he despised the suspicions of those Senators *. He even answered Cæfar with more warmth than prudence. "That if any body offered to oppose this law sword " in hand, he would take up fword and buckler to " make it pass." Which was the same thing, as

declaring war against his own party.

Pompey, by this answer, so unsuitable to his own true interest, made himself odious to the Senate. and fuspicious to his own friends: nor did so imprudent a step gain him an inch of the people's fayour, who thought themselves beholden to no body but Cæfar for the obtaining of this law. This Conful, supported by his own party, by that of Pompey and of Craffus, made it pass, as it were, sword in hand, and in spite of the remonstrances and oppofition of the most zealous republicans. Twenty commissioners were chosen, who shared the lands of Campania among twenty thousand Roman families. These proved hereafter as many clients, whose proper interest engaged them to uphold what To prevent had been done under his Confulate. what his fucceffors might undertake against the disposition of this law, he got a second passed, which bound the whole Senate, and all those that should be raifed to any magistracy, to take an oath, that they should never propose any thing that would derogate from what had been decreed in the affembly of the people during his Confulate. It was by

Plut. in Cæfare.

fo wife a precaution that he rendered the foundation of his fortune fo firm and durable, that ten years absence, and all the ill offices of his enemies and those that envied him could never shake it.

But as he always feared that Pompey would give him the flip, and be gained over again to the party of the zealous republicans, he gave him his daughter Julia in marriage, as a new pledge of their Year of union. Pompey gave his to Servilius; and Cæfar married Calphurnia, the daughter of Rome, Pifo, whom he got nominated Conful for 694. the year enfuing. He at the fame time took for himself the government of Gaul and Illyricum for five years. That of Syria was allotted to Craffus at his defire, not doubting but he should get new treasures there; and Pompey obtained that of both Spains, which he always governed by his lieutenants, that he might not be obliged to quit the luxuries of Rome. They tacked this division of the governments to the law for the partition of the lands, thereby to interest the proprietors in maintaining their private authority.

Thus did these three men share the world between them, as their own patrimony. In vain did Cato remonstrate in all the assemblies, that it was a shame the empire should thus be prostituted, and the grandees of Rome in a manner barter away their daughters, and give them in lieu of a dowry the command of armies, the government of provinces, and the highest dignities of the common-

wealth.

Cæsar, who was gentle and humane to the common people, but proud towards the great who offered to resist him, put Cato under arrest, pretending that he opposed the passing of a law received and approved by the unanimous consent of the people. Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague in the Consulship, was driven out of the Forum by the people, provoked and enraged at the opposition he made.

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His Fasces were broke, and his Lictors wounded. Himfelf narrowly escaped being killed, and was forced, for faving of his life, to ly concealed in his own house some time, without daring to appear abroad. Lucullus and Cicero met with but little better treatment. The vanquisher of Tigranes and Mithridates, threatned by Cafar that he should be called to account for the immense treasures he had brought with him from the East, was forced, in order to pacify him, to fall at his feet in a full affembly, and to retire from public bufiness. was Cæfar's fecret view, who, to remove Cicero likewife from the administration, whose ability and penetrating genius he stood in fear of, was not ashamed to unite himself with Pub. Clodius, Cicero's declared enemy, in order to ruin that great man, and to raife Clodius to the dignity of Tribune of the people, though Clodius had a little before been accufed of living in adultery with Pompeia, Cæfar's wife.

It was this very accusation, and the share Cicero had in it, which gave birth to that violent hatred of Clodius against him, though they had before lived in a very strict friendship. Publius Clodius was a very handsome young man, rich, eloquent, and loved by the people, whose interests he supported; but prefumptuous, proud, and infolent, on account of his high birth, and of the credit he had in Rome. He fell violently in love with Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, and found the way to win her. Nothing was wanting to their mutual defires but an opportunity, which the watchfulness and severity of Aurelia, Cæfar's mother, rendered almost im-Clodius, carried away by his passion, poslible. fancied he might introduce himself in his house by favour of a particular feast to be held that night in honour of the mother of Bacchus. Men were excluded from those nocturnal ceremonies. The very master of the house, wherein they were celebrated,

was obliged to quit his house, and none but women or maids were admitted to those mysteries, over which they could not cast too thick a veil. It was commonly the wife of a Consul, or a Prætor, who officiated as priestess of that Goddess, whom it was unlawful to name, but who was reverenced under

the title of Bona Dea, the good Goddess.

Clodius difguifed himfelf in woman's apparel, and in the night was introduced into the house of Aurelia, by a fervant of Pompeia, who being of intelligence with her miffress, managed that intrigue, The rendezvous was in the chamber of that very fervant, who had hid Clodius there, while the went to acquaint her mistress with the arrival of her lover. But as she tarried too long, whether he was impatient, or perhaps defirous to know what were the mysteries of the feast among those women, he came out of dis lurking hole. As ill luck would have it, he loft his way, and chanced to meet another fervant maid of the family, who taking him for a maid, proposed, as Plutarch expresses it, to play with her. Clodius tried to thun it; but the fervant, who in this bacchanal was feized with a kind of fury, endeavoured to pull him towards a place where the faw fome light, that the might know who was the she that so unkindly denied her. Clodius, to fave himfelf from her hands, told her he was one of the finging women that had been hired for the feast, and that he was looking for Abra, Pompeia's fervant. The found of his voice betrayed him, and discovered his fex. The maid frightened, runs to Aurelia, and acquaints her, that the has found a man in the house in women's An end is immediately put to the ceremonies; the mysteries are very hastily covered over: Aurelia orders the doors to be locked; a tearch is made, and the criminal found. Cafar's mother, after having upbraided him with his infolence and impiety, made him go out; and the next morning

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morning early, she gave notice to the Senate of what had happened in the night in her house. The whole town were fcandalized at it. The women, above all, flew out in a violent passion against Clodius; and a Tribune fummoned him to appear before the people, and took upon him to profecute this affair. This magistrate flattered himself to be feconded by Cæfar's credit. He thought that a husband would not refuse to join his resentment against a young infolent fellow convicted of an unlawful amour with his own wife. It is certain, that in the ordinary course of the world, Cæsar could not avoid declaring himfelf against Clodius; but it was his interest, in the present circumstances of affairs, not to fall out with Clodius, who had great credit among the people. To make himfelf eafy in fo difficult a point, without wounding his honour or his interest, he contented himself with putting away his wife. The Tribune, after this step, having summoned him in an assembly of the people to declare, if he was not certain, that Clodius had prophaned the mysteries of the Bona Dea; Cæfar answered him coldly, that he knew nothing of the matter. "Why then, (replied the Tribune), " have you parted with your wife?" "Because, " (faid he), Cæfar's wife should not be so much as " fuspected." With this cunning answer he evaded profecuting Clodius; and would at the fame time infinuate, that he was convinced his wife had been more imprudent in this affair than criminal.

Clodius, having now nothing to fear from Cæfar's refentment, among the feveral things he pleaded in his defence, maintained, that Aurelia had
mistaken him for another; and offered to prove,
that the very night of the feast he was out of
Rome, and at too great a distance to be able to return that night, whatever speed he could have
made. But Cicero rose, and in full assembly declared, that he came to his house that evening, and

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had discoursed him on several heads. It is pretended, that Cicero witnessed this, less out of a religious concern, than out of complaisance for Terentia his wife, who took this opportunity of creating a misunderstanding between him and Clodius, whose sister she feared he would marry, after having set her aside; it being reported that he bore her no ill-will. But whatever might move him to this, his evidence did not prevail over Clodius's credit, nor over the money he gave to his judges. The criminal was acquitted, and he had no sooner cleared himself of so dangerous an affair, but he meditated which way he should be revenged of Cicero.

The office of Tribune of the people seemed to him a magistracy that would enable him to signalize his hatred with impunity; but he was a Patrician by birth, and by the laws that dignity could not be possessed by any but Plebeians. To remove this obstacle, he got himself adopted into a Plebeian family, by M. Fonteius. By means of this adoption, and the credit he had in Rome, he easily

got chosen one of the Tribunes.

To render himself more popular still, he Year of began the exercise of his dignity by propo-Rome, fing new laws all in favour of the Plebeians. He at the same time brought Piso and Gabinius, the two Confuls for that year, over to his interest by good management. That they might not cross him in his project of revenge against Cicero, he procured for them the government of the two richest provinces in the commonwealth. After having thus taken these different measures in regard to the people and the Senate, he applied himself to the gaining of Craffus, Cæsar and Pompey, who by an interest at that time superior to all his contrivances and cabals, might have fnatched his victim from him. But he found those grandees, who might be called the fovereigns of Rome, disposed

disposed to concur with him in his resentment. Crassus had actually fallen out with Cicero; Cæfar, since Catiline's affair, wished him no better; and Pompey, then united with Cæsar, and besides always a weak friend, was not capable of undertaking the desence of a man against whom Cæsar

preserved a secret spite.

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Clodius having taken those measures, impeached Cicero before the affembly of the people*, for having put Lentulus, Cethegus, and the other accomplices of Catiline, to death, contrary to all laws, and without fo much as confulting the people, who were the natural judges of all citizens in criminal matters. Though Cicero had done nothing but what the Senate agreed to, he eafily perceived, that without a powerful protection he should hardly escape Clodius's fury during the year of his Tribunate. He first went to Cæsar, and intreated that he might follow him into Gaul as one of his lieutenants. Cæfar, who defired no better thing than to have him out of the Senate and the administration, readily consented. Clodius, who perceived that that employment, together with the abfence of Cicero, would oblige him to frop his proceedings against him, feigned himself disposed to a reconciliation. He fent him word by fome common friends, that he was not averfe to live again in amity with him, and was conscious that his wife Terentia had been the chief occasion of his giving that evidence against him in the affair of

Cicero, allured by those vain hopes of a speedy agreement, thanked Cæsar for his employment, returned to the Senate, and followed public business again. But Cæsar, who had resolved, whatever it cost, to have him out, incensed at this change, united with Clodius in the pursuit of his ruin;

Plat. in Caf et Ciceronem. App. 1. 2. de bello civ. c. 4.

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and he made Pompey promife that he should no ways intermeddle in this affair in behalf of Cicero. Clodius hereupon refumed his impeachment. Cicero, feeing himself in so much danger, changed his habit; and having let his beard and his hair grow, went about to follicit the affiftance of his friends, and the protection of the grandees of Rome, being attended with a great number of knights. The Senate, moved at the wrong that was doing to fo honest a man, whom they regarded as one of the principal ornaments of their body, were for going into mourning as for a public calamity: but the Confuls, bribed by Clodius, opposed it: himfelf, attended with an infolent band of armed flaves, kept the Senate as befieged: fo that they could not take any resolution to Cicero's advantage.

That great man, profecuted by a mad-man, and an implacable enemy, had recourse to Pompey, to whom he had done confiderable fervices in all things relating to the government, and who owed him most of the employments which were conferred on him

by the votes of the people.

Pompey, noways ignorant of Clodius's defigns, was retired to his country feat, that he might not be exposed to the reproach of not stirring in behalf of his friend, if he had staid in Rome cero at first sent his fon-in-law Piso to him, who brought nothing back from him but fuch equivocal and evalive answers, as the great alone know fo well how to make, to excuse themselves from granting what they cannot openly refuse, without difgracing themselves. Cicero flattered himself, that if he went in person, he should have better luck; he went himself therefore to his house. Pompey, knowing himself incapable of bearing his presence, and yet resolving not to break his word with Cæfar, went out at a back door, and fent him word, that he was returned to Rome. Cicero,

cero, no longer doubting that he was abandoned by him, did in a manner abandon himself; and that man, fo eloquent, fo powerful by the force of his rhetoric, and the strength of his arguments, when he pleaded the canfe of other people, despaired of faving himself, and wanted words to justify an action, that had been applauded by the whole Senate, and praifed by the unanimous voice of the people. He banished himself, quitted Rome in the night, and retired into Greece. Clodius, having reduced him to that extremity, got the decree of his banishment passed *. By the same decree, that furious Tribune, who had drawn it up, obtained, that his city and country houses should be pulled down to the ground, and his goods fold by auction by the common ministers of justice; which he faw executed foon after, that he might leave monuments of his refentment and power.

Clodius, having forced Cicero to fly, thought himself sole and absolute master of the government. He even presumed to attack Pompey himself, and proposed in the assembly of the people, to inspect the conduct of that great commander, during the wars in the East. But he soon found that his power was founded only as it were on a borrowed credit; and that of himself he could not have accomplished Cicero's ruin, if some powerful cabals, of which he fancied himself the chief, though but the instrument and minister, had not concurred with him in

that affair.

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Pompey, attacked in fo fensible a part, forgot his secret engagements with Cæsar, and resolved to procure Cicero's restoration, to oppose him to Clodius †. This was the occasion of new broils; they even came to blows: but Pompey's party proved so strong, that Clodius was forced to yield, an! the Senate put an end to those disputes ly one bold

Plut. in Cicer. † Plut. in Cicer. App. 1 2. c. 45. E e 2 actio

action: they fuspended all courts of justice, and made a decree, which forbad the magistrates taking cognizance of any affair whatever, till the recall Year of Of Cicero had first been decreed. great man returned to his own country, Rome after fixteen months banishment. 695. cities through which he paffed paid him an uncommon respect; and he says himself, "That " he was brought back again to Rome as it were " in the arms of the inhabitants of all Italy "." His whole journey was one continual triumph. When he came near Rome, the grandees, the knights, the people, all went out to meet him; and the Senate ordered by a public decree, that his houses, which Clodius had caused to be pulled down, should be rebuilt at the public charge.

Cæfar, who unbosomed himself but little in those cabals, faw Cicero's restoration, without offering to hinder it, and feemed at that time entirely taken

up with the affairs of his government.

The Confuls, at the expiration of their office, had usually the government of some of the provinces conferred on them; and Cæfar, as we have feen, agreed with Pompey and Craffus, to accept of the Gallia Cifalpina, in the neighbourhood of Vatinius, Tribune of the people, and a creature of Cæfar, got that of Illyrium, and the Gallia Transalpina to be added to the first; which contained Provence, and part of Dauphine and Languedoc, which Cæfar coveted extremely, that he might thence carry his arms farther; and which the very Senate agreed to, because they did not think their interest strong enough to refuse him.

Cæfar had chosen those provinces as a field of battle fit to acquire him a great name. He looked on the conquest of all Gaul as an object worthy of his great courage and valour, and flattered him-

^{*} Vell. Pat. l. z. c. 45.

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felf at the same time he should there amass great treasures, still more necessary to support his credit at Rome, than to bear the expence of the war. He fet out for the conquet of Gaul, at the head of four legions, and Pompey lent him another afterwards, which he spared him from the army that he had under his command, as governor of Spain and Lybia. Cæfar's wars, his battles and victories, are unknown to nobody. He triumphed within the space of ten years over the Helvetians, whom he forced to confine themselves among their mountains; he attacked and defeated Ariovistus, king of the Almains, whom he made war upon, though that prince had been admitted among the allies of the Roman nation. He afterwards made the Belgæ yield to his laws; he conquered all Gaul; and the Romans, under his conduct, crossed the fea, and for the first time set up their eagles in Great Britain. It is faid, that he either took by force 'eight hundred cities, or made them yield to the terror of his arms; that he fubdued three hundred different nations; that he defeated in feveral different battles three millions of men, of which one million were killed in the field of battle, and another million made prisoners; circumstances which would feem to us exorbitant and magnifyed, if we had not for vouchers Plutarch, and other Roman historians.

It is certain, that the commonwealth had never feen a greater captain, if we examine his conduct in the command of armies, his uncommon valour in fight, and the moderate use he made of his victories. But these great qualifications were darkned, by his immoderate ambition, and an insatiable desire of accumulating riches, which he took to be the surest instrument to bring his great designs to the desired issue. The moment he arrived in Gaul, every thing in his camp was venal; places, governments, wars, alliances; he made a trade of every thing. He plundered the temples of the Gods,

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and the lands of the allies. All that tended to the increase of his power, seemed just and honourable to him; and Cicero relates, that he had frequently these lines of Euripides in his mouth: " If right " is to be violated, it is only for the fake of empire; " but in matters of less consequence, men cannot " be too observant of justice." The Senate, intent upon his conduct, defigned to call him to an account, and fent commissioners as far as Gaul, to know the causes of complaint of their allies. Cato, upon the return of those commissioners, proposed to deliver him up to Ariovistus, thereby to show that the commonwealth disapproved his unjust wars, and to bring down upon his fingle head the divine vengeance for faith violated. But the splendor of his victories, the affection of the people, and the money he bestowed among the Senators, infensibly changed those complaints into praises. His robberies were construed for political actions; the Gods were thanked in a folemn manner for his facrileges; and great vices became great virtues, becaute they proved fuccessful.

Cæfar owed these successes to his uncommon valour, and the paffionate love his foldiers bore him. They adored him, they followed him in the greatest dangers with that entire confidence which is extremely honourable to a general; and those who under other commanders would have fought but feebly, showed under him an invincible courage; and, by his example, became fo many Cæfars. He had engaged them to his person and his fortune by that unwearied care he took of their subfistence, and by magnificent prefents. He doubled their pay; and the corn, that used to be measured out to them by rations, he allowed them without meafure. To the veterans, he affigned lands and poffessions. It seemed as if he was but the steward of the vast riches he was acquiring every day; and that he faved them with no other view, than to make

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make them the price of valour, and the reward of merit. He even used to pay the debts of his principal officers, and gave to understand to such as stood engaged for large fums, that they should never be in any danger from their creditors as long as they followed his colours. Soldiers and officers, all of them grounded the hopes of their fortune on the generofity and protection of their general; by which means the foldiers of the commonwealth

infenfibly became the foldiers of Cæfar.

He was not only intent upon gaining the army; from the remotest parts of Gaul, he had an eye upon the public administration, and was in a manner prefent in all the Comitia and affemblies of the people. Nothing was transacted there, without his privity. His credit and money influenced most deliberations of the Senate. He had in both those affemblies powerful friends and creatures entirely devoted to his interest. He supplied them with money in abundance, either to pay their debts, or to raise themselves to the chief offices in the commonwealth. It was with thefe fums that he bought their votes and their liberty. Emilius Paulus, being Conful, got of him upwards of nine hundred Year of thousand crowns, that he might not oppose Rome, his designs during his consulate. He gave still more to Curio, a Tribune of the people, 703. a man of a violent and factious spirit, but artful and eloquent, who had fold him his faith, but who, to ferve him more effectually, concealed his fecret obligations and engagements, affecting, in all he did, to act only for the good of the people *.

Pompey's friends made him reflect feriously on the conduct of Cæfar, and represented to him the danger which threatned the commonwealth. Pompey, furprised, could not help blushing, when he perceived that he had been over-reached by a man,

Val. Max. l. 9. c. 1. Velleius, l. 2. c. 48.

whose abilities proved greater than his own; and that he had perhaps given himself a master, whilst he only intended to favour his father-in-law and his friend. He thereupon resolved to undo what he conceived to be his own work, and to subvert Cæsar's fortune: he flattered himself, that being master of the Senate, nothing could withstand him. Cæsar, on his part, grounded his hopes on a victorious army, and the affection of the people.

The jealoufy of the command, and a mutual emulation of glory, made them foon perceive that they were enemies, though still preserving the outward appearance of their former union. But Crassus, who by his credit and immense riches balanced the power of both, being slain in the Parthian war, they found themselves at liberty to declare their sentiments openly. And the death of Julia, Cæsar's daughter, and Pompey's wife, which fell out soon afterwards, put an end to what little friendship remained betwixt the father and son-in-law.

Rome was then in a prodigious disorder, bribery and venality of places were no longer conceal-Those that stood candidates brought their money openly to the place of election. It was without shame distributed among the heads of factions; and those who had received it, employed force and violence rather than the number of votes, to cause them to be elected, who had thus paid them: fo that scarce any office was bestowed, but what had been disputed sword in hand, and had cost the lives of many citizens. Both parties proving of equal force, separated often without coming to any choice: and this diforder increased fo much, that Rome was once eight months without magistrates. Pompey was suspected to keep up that confusion in the government, in order to center the whole authority in himself. His creatures, favouring his ambitious defigns, expressed

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in their speeches an abhorrence of that untamed licentiousness that reigned in all the elections. Several, to found the bottom of people's hearts, faid, That a monarchial state was preferable to a commonwealth, which was degenerated into a total anarchy: that they must at least have recourse to a Dictator; and that in a choice, now become neceffary, they ought to put themselves under the direction of the tenderest physician; by which they cunningly pointed out Pompey, without naming The affair was pushed on with so much warmth by his adherents, that the Senate feemed disposed to confer that great dignity upon him, which differed from royalty only by being limited, and of a shorter duration. But Cato, who was always watchful over the public liberty, having penetrated Pompey's defigus, and fearing left, with the great power he had, he might make himfelf perpetual Dictator, infinuated to the Senate, That it would be more proper to chuse him sole Consul without a colleague. He proposed this, to preserve yet fome image of a commonwealth; and because a Conful was bound, when called upon, to give an account of his conduct to the people and the Senate, which a Dictator was exempted from.

The Senate approved the expedient proposed by Cato: Pompey was elected sole Consul. They at the same time continued his governments, and the command of those armies to him that obeyed him before; and they gave him leave to take a thousand talents annually out of the treasury for their pay. He soon after married Cornelia, daughter of Metellus Pius; and though the Consulate had been conferred on him without a colleague, he associated his father-in-law into that dignity for the sive last months of his consulthip: which modera-

tion rendered him still dearer to the Senate.

Cæfar took hence an opportunity to ask in his turn the Confulate, and the continuation of his

governments

governments. Pompey did not oppose him; but Marcellus and Lentulus, at his instigation, being his creatures, alledged, with a defign to exclude Cæfar, That the laws did not allow to admit any

absent person among the candidates.

Pompey's view in starting this obstacle, was toengage Cæsar to abandon the government of Gaul. and the command of his army, to come in person to follicit the confulate. But Cæfar, who faw through the artifice, chose to remain at the head of his forces; and it is reported, that when he heard the cabal of his adversaries had prevailed to have his defires rejected, he faid, laving his hand upon his fword, "This shall obtain me what they " fo unjustly refuse me." Others attribute this answer to one of his principal officers, whom he had fent from the army to demand that dignity for him.

The Senate, who acted no longer but according to the impression of Cæsar's enemies, ordained, That two legions should be draughted out of the troops under his and Pompey's command, under pretence of fending them into Syria against the Parthians, who were faid to threaten that province with an incursion since Crassus's defeat. Pompey, to weaken Cæfar's army, fent to demand that legion back, which he had lent him. Appius Claudius was fent on that commission. Though Cæsar readily penetrated his enemies defigns, yet he delivered these two legions to the envoy of the Senate. He loaded the officers with prefents, and caused two hundred and fifty drachmas (about four pounds Sterling) to be distributed to every private foldier, as a recompence for his fervices. But as all that had been given out concerning the deligns of the Parthians, was only a pretence made use of to weaken Cæfar's army, and draw two legions from it; those troops were no fooner arrived in Italy,

but they had quarters assigned them in Campania, and near Capua, instead of being sent to the East.

Appius, at his return, did Cæsar a considerable piece of service, though contrary to his intention. This man, to flatter Pompey's ambition, told him, that the whole army in Gaul wished him their general; and that the soldiers, suspecting Cæsar aimed at monarchy, were resolved to desert him, as

foon as they should reach Italy.

Pompey, feduced by this false representation, neglected the precautions that were necessary against an enemy who commanded a powerful army; and when the chief of his party, amazed to fee him full'd afleep in a deceitful fecurity, reprefented to him, how much it imported him to ftrengthen himself with new levies, he answered them proudly, "That he needed only stamp with his foot on the " ground, and thence he could make armed le-" gions arife." He spoke with so much confidence only, because he flattered himself, that if it came to an open rupture, part of Cæfar's army would defert to him. However, as he feared the fortune and valour of that great commander, he endeavoured to remove him from the government of Gaul without coming to an open rupture. concerted measures with the Senate to nominate his fuccessor: the affair was taken into consideration: every body agreed, that the time of his commission being near expired, it was just to fend some Senator to Gaul, who should take on him the government of that province, and the command of the army there. Curio, a Tribune of the people, who would feem to adhere to neither party, though fecretly devoted to Cæsar, declared himself for the general fentiments of the Senators, to whom he paid great compliments upon the same. But he added, That to fecure the public liberty, it was likewife necessary, that Pompey should at the same time disband the armies under his command, and quit

quit the governments of Spain and Lybia. Pompey's friends reply'd to this, That the time of his commission was not at an end, as Cæsar's was. But Pompey himself answered, That he had taken those employments only out of respect to the Senate; and was ready to lay them down, without waiting till the time allowed by the laws should be expired. He promifed to be his own depofer; and in order to determine the Senate to give that moment a fucceffor to Cæfar, he added with a feeming candour, That he was thoroughly informed of his intentions; and that, as his friend and relation, he could affure them, That that great general, wearied with a ten years war against the most warlike nations of the earth, coveted nothing more than to tafte the fweets of a peaceable life in his own native country.

Curio, who discerned all the artifice of this speech, and saw that Pompey had spoken so positively about Cæsar's sentiments, with no other view than to obtain that his successor should be named; answered, It was not sufficient he should promise to quit his governments, it behoved he should do it that very instant: that they were both too powerful; and the interest of the Commonwealth required both should become private men at the same time. He concluded, It was his opinion that unless they did both at the same time quit the command of their armies they both should be declared

enemies of the Commonwealth.

Curio had no other design, in pressing so warmly their mutual abdication, but to conceal his secret inclination to Cæsar's interest; and he did it the more readily, because he was very well informed, Pompey could never resolve to quit his governments: and although he had done it, and Cæsar should likewise have been obliged to quit the command of his army, Curio was very sensible by how many ties Cæsar had bound his officers and

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foldiers to his fortune; and that it would not be difficult for him to lift those troops anew under his colours, which were secretly kept in his pay.

This Tribune not having got his opi-nion to prevail, broke up the Senate according to the power of his office. The Rome, Confuls, C. Claudius Marcellus, and L. 704. Cornelius Lentulus, fummoned it together again after a few days. Marcellus, first conful, and an open adherent of Pompey, took a particular method to get him continued in his governments. He put the questions about Cæsar and Pompey separately: and the first question was, Whether the Senators thought it reasonable that Pompey should lay down the authority wherewith the Senate had invested him? the majority was for the negative. He then told the votes concerning Cæfar, after having put the question, Whether it was their opinion to give Cæfar a fucceffor? to which all unanimously confented. But Curio, though he was not then a Tribune, having put the question, Whether the Senate did not think it yet more adviscable, that both should quit the command of their armies? after telling the voices, they found three hundred and feventy for the affirmative; against no more than twenty-two, who obstinately retained their opinion, That Pompey only should keep the command of his forces.

Marcellus, ashamed and angry to see his party reduced to so small a number, cried out with much warmth, "Well then! let Cæsar be your master, "since you will have it so." Upon which some of his friends having added, to intimidate the Senate, That Cæsar was come on this side the Alps, and was marching at the head of his whole army strait for Rome, and Curio having shown the impertinence of that news; the Consul, enraged that he could not bring the Senate back to his own opinion, went out abruptly, saying, That since he was him-

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dred in his care of the Commonwealth, he would apply fuch remedies to the impending ruin, as he should think most fitting, according to the power of his office. Thence he went with his colleague Lentulus a little way out of town, to a house where Pompey was; and presenting him a sword, he said, speaking in the name of both; "We command you to march against Cæsar, and to sight for the defence of our native country." Pompey declared, that he would obey them; and added with a seigned modesty, "Unless a more happy expe-

" dient be first found out."

Cæfar, informed of all the transactions at Rome, that be might always have the appearance of juflice on his fide, wrote several times to the Senate with a great deal of temper, and as defiring peace. He required, either they should continue him in his government, as they had granted Pompey; or that he might be allowed to put up for the Confulate, though absent from Rome. He afterwards renewed Curio's propofals, infifting, that Pompey and he should quit their governments, and command of the armies at the fame time. But the Senators, who for the greatest part favoured Pompey, having rejected all those proposals, Cæsar fell so low as only to demand, that the government of Illyrium and the command of two legions should be continued to him; which however, it is probable, he would never have proposed, if he had believed they would have granted it him. But he was very well apprifed, that the contrary party had refolved to difarm him entirely; and indeed they rejected every one of his proposals. Marcellus, first Conful, and entirely devoted to Pompey, naturally proud and haughty, faid it was shameful to the Commonwealth to treat with one of her subjects, while he was yet in arms. And Lentulus, his colleague, overloaded with debts, and who could not stand it but by favour of the public disturbances, was

was not forry that a civil war should happen, because he might make himself considerable, and

amass great riches, if his party prevailed.

Cæsar, who rightly foresaw the success of this negociation, passed the Alps at the head of the third legion, and halted at Ravenna. He sent immediately Fabius, one of his lieutenants, with letters for the Senate, to Rome. They began with a losty relation of all his great exploits; and begged that some regard should be had to his services. He next protested, that he was ready to quit the command jointly with Pompey; but if that general pretended to keep it, he on his part should know how to maintain himf if at the head of his legions; that he even designed to be at Rome in a few days, to revenge his private injuries, and those that were

done to his country.

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These last threatning words raised the whole Senate against him. Lentulus said, it was useless to deliberate upon a letter which contained a declaration of war; and added, in a violent passion, There was more occasion to take up arms, than to count the votes concerning fo great a robber as Lucius Domitius was instantly appointed his fuccessor, and they gave him four thousand new levies to enable him to go and take possession of his government. Then they formed the decree of the Senate, as dictated by the most declared enemies of Cæsar. It was therein ordained, that he should within such a time disband his army; and, if he refused to obey, that he should be prosecuted as an enemy of the Commonwealth *. To no purpose did Mark Antony, then Tribune, back'd by Curio and Cassius, endeavour, by virtue of their office, to oppose this decree: the Confuls, provoked at their opposition, drove them forcibly out of the Senate. Pompey himself had fent secretly for

· Plut. in Cæf.

foldiers to infult them. Antony, before he went, cried out, that the Tribunitian dignity, which hitherto had been kept facred, was no longer fecure from infult; but that he forefaw, that fuch violent proceedings were only the prelude of bloody wars, profcriptions and murders. And at going off, he made horrible imprecations against fuch as were the cause of those disasters: and these three Senators, after having disguised themselves like slaves, for fear of being known, made all the haste they

could to Cæfar's camp.

The decree of the Senate was like a declaration of war. Two powerful parties were seen to take up arms, both pretending to do it for the desence of the laws and liberty; but whose chiefs had no other but a secret view to establish their own power, and to destroy that liberty and those very laws. Pompey's party had something more of a specious outside: he covered himself with the awful name of the Commonwealth, which acknowledged him for her general, and the whole Senate with the Consuls followed his ensigns. Cæsar had of his side the affections of the people, supported by a victorious army; and if Pompey's party had a greater appearance of justice, that of his rival was the most powerful and the securest.

The Senate flattered themselves, that Cæsar could not have drawn his forces so soon from the remotest part of Gaul, where they were quartered in different provinces; and that before they had passed the Alps, Pompey would have a considerable army on soot. But Cæsar, whose foresight and activity were matchless, resolved to prevent his enemies by the suddenness and boldness of his march. He was already at Ravenna, as we have said. He immediately sent a secret order to such of his troops as were the nearest, to advance towards the Rubicon, a small river that parted his government of

Gallia Cifalpina from the rest of Italy.

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Book XIII. in the ROMAN REPUBLIC. 341

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He himself set out in the evening, marched all night with an uncommon diligence, and arrived at the place appointed by break of day, where he found about five thousand foot, and three hundred horse. He halted a while on the bank of that little river. He was uneasy about the success of his undertaking, and all the evils and difasters of a civil war presented themselves at once to his mind, Cæfar, brought up in the bosom of a Commonwealth, could not, as he drew near to Rome, look on the approaching ruin of his country without being concerned. He had hitherto thought himfelf fure of a firmness of foul, or rather an infensibility, which he could not eafily attain; and liberty, ready to fall by his arm, gave him some remorfe. " If I put off any longer the croffing of this river, " (faid he to the chief officers about him) I am un-"done; and if I do cross it, how many people " shall I make wretched!" But after having reflected on the hatred and inveteracy of his enemies and his own ftrength, he threw himself into the river, and croffes it, faying what is common upon doubtful and dangerous undertakings; "It is "done: the die is thrown *." He immediately marched with all the fpeed that it was possible to do with a body of infantry. He arrives before Rimini, furprifes the place, and makes himfelf mawat 'tarther, and to go to Applia, whereit fo raft

It is impossible to express the terror and fear of all Italy and Rome itself, upon the news of the taking of that place: they fancied this dreaded captain already at the gates of the city, with all the forces he commanded in Gaul. The Senate met several times without coming to any resolution; their minds were too fluctuating and divided. Several Senators, without proposing any thing themselves, only contradicted the advice of others; and

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Plut. in Cal. App. 132.

in those tumultuous assemblies, nothing was agreed on but what proved impossible to execute. Pompey was not without uneafiness in this confusion. He had neither troops, nor ftrong place to fecure a retreat, and was obliged to bear with the reproaches of most part of the Senate, who complained, that he had fuffered himfelf to be lulled afleep by Cæfar's letters, and the deceitful show he made of defiring peace. Cato himfelf told him. that he could not deny but he had warned him often. that the fecret designs of Cæfar were to make himfelf fole master of the government. " I own, (re-" plied Pompey) that you knew him better than I: " you unravelled his true fentiments as they were " in reality; but as for me, I have hitherto judged " of them only by what I thought they should be "." Every Senator thought himself privileged to make him reproaches, and to advise him. He met with opposition on all fides, and this filled his mind with fear and fuspicions. The very people now refused obedience to their magistrates; and every man set up for the arbiter of his duty, under pretence of providing for his own fafety.

Pompey, in this confusion, seeing himself in Rome without troops, and fearing, if he should arm the people, they would declare against him in favour of Cæsar, resolved to carry the seat of the war farther, and to go to Apulia, where the two legions were encamped, which Cæsar had surrendered to Appius +! He remonstrated to the Senate, that he should not be long in want of soldiers, if they would but sollow him out of Rome, and even out of staly, in case he could not maintain himself there: that true Romans ought to think any country theirs, where they could preserve their liberty: that the commonwealth had two legions near Capua, two more in Thessaly; and that Petreius and

Plu; in Pump.

Afranius, his lieutenants in Spain, were at the head of a powerful army, entirely made up of Veterans, who were noways inferior to those of Cæfar, either for courage or experience, besides the troops dispersed in the different provinces of Asia and Africa, and the succours that might be expected from the kings in alliance with the Roman state. The Consuls, and a great number of Senators, all friends or creatures of Pompey, generously resolved to follow his fortune. They left Rome in the evening very hastily: however dismal this departure was, which distanced them from their native country, and was going to separate them from their wives and children, they considered Rome; where they could not maintain themselves,

to be no other than Cæfar's camp.

It was not long, indeed, before he made himfelf master of it *; and he was received there by his adherents, and by all the people with a general applause: As in a civil war, money is no less necessary than arms, he seized on the public treafure, in fpite of Metellus, Tribune of the people, who offered to hinder it: he even threatned to kill him if he did not retire. And having taken thence four thousand one hundred and thirty pound weight of gold, and eighty thousand pound weight of filver, which makes near two hundred thousand pounds Sterling, he put himself in a condition to march after Pompey and his followers: but that general of the Senate, who was refolved to draw the war into length, to have time to gather more forces, paffed over from Italy into Epirus, and taking shipping at Brundusium, he arrived in the port of Durachium, or Durazzo, in Istria +. Czefar not being able to overtake him, made himself master

D. H. 1. 42. † Id. ib. App. 1. 2. Plet, in Cufare. Pomp., Cicer. Cufar. Civ. Bell. 1. 2. & 2. Flor. Entrop. Vellei. Sucton. Zonasas.

of all Italy in less than two months. The Year of detail and particular events of the civil war do not belong to my purpose. It is known Rome, that the empire cost Cæsar in a manner but 705. one hour's time, fince the battle of Pharfalia decided the whole matter. The death of Pompey, foon after killed in Egypt, completed the fall of his party. The activity of Cæfar, and rapidity of his victories, gave no time to cross him in his designs. War carried him into different climates; victory followed him almost every where; and glory never forfook him: his moderation and clemency difarmed his enemies quite; and though educated by his uncle Marius, he retained of him neither that obstinate hatred, nor that cruel defire of revenge, which made that ancient chief of a party spill so l'was not long, indeed, before much blood.

Cæsar, either more humane, or more artful, always sacrificed his private resentments to the establishing of his empire. He forgave all Pompey's adherents. There were several whom he did not use otherwise than even his best friends, when it came to the distributing of places and dignities in the empire. All from that time gave way to his power; and two years after his passing the Rubicon, he entered Rome master of the whole world, and

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triumphant over all his enemies.

The Senate, after his return, decreed him extraordinary honours, and an unlimited authority, which left the commonwealth but a shadow of liberty. He was appointed Conful for ten years, and perpetual Dictator. They gave him the name of Imperator, and the august title of Father of his country. His person was declared facred and inviolable. This was reuniting and perpetuating in him alone the power and yearly prerogatives of all the dignities of the state. They added to this profusion of honours the privilege of sitting at all public games in a gilded chair, with a golden crown upon

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his head; and it was ordained by a decree, that even after his decease, that chair and crown should be placed as usual at all the public spectacles, to render his memory immortal. Nothing was wanting now but the title of king. He deliberated whether he should assume it, and he in a manner tried on the diadem. But having difcerned the aversion the Romans had for the name and pomp of royalty, he durft not venture to fix the crown upon his head in the midst of a commonwealth whose liberty he had fo lately oppress'd: he chose to appear in public neither as a fovereign, nor as a private perfon. He refolved upon a third expedient, more doubtful and dangerous. He weakly flattered himfelf to dazzle his fellow-citizens by I know not what strange and inconsistent mi. are of liberty and abfolute power; and he was even bold enough to use clemency at the beginning of an usurpation. It was to gain the confidence of the Senate and the republican party, that, contrary to the advice of his best friends, he broke his Spanish guards; not confidering, as they hinted to him, that domination got by force of arms, was not to be preserved but by the fame means. But Cæfar, now become the master of the world, had too easily credited the discourses of his flatterers, who gave him to understand, " That after having put an end to the " civil wars, the commonwealth was more concern-" ed in his preservation than himself."

His enemies took advantage of his over much fecurity, and turned those false measures against himself *. Most of the Senators had conferred those extraordinary honours on him with no other view than to render him odious, and that they might work his ruin the surer. The grandees chiefly, who had followed Pompey's fortune, and who could not forgive him their owing their lives in the

D. H. 1. 44.

plains of Pharfalia to him, upbraided themselves secretly for accepting of his kindness, as having been in one sense the price of the public liberty; and those whom he fancied his best friends, accepted of his favours only to have the freer access to

his person, and to accomplish his ruin.

He had formed a defign to turn his arms against the Parthians, to avenge the defeat and death of Crassus; and he was to set out upon that expedi-. tion in a few days. His creatures and flatterers, to dispose the Romans to see him invested with the title of King with less reluctance, made it their bufiness to give out, that the books of the Sybils declared, that the Parthians could never be vanquished, unless the Romans had a king for their general. It is even affirmed, that Aurelius Cotta, one of his creatures, who had those facred volumes in his keeping, was to make his report out of them on the Ides of March to the Senate; and that Cæfar's friends, by way of qualifying the matter on account of the commonwealth, were to propose that fame day, That he should only be stiled Dictator in Rome, and all over Italy; but that he should be acknowledged a king, and take upon him that title, in respect of all foreign nations subject to the Roman empire.

Cæsar's enemies made use of those rumours to hasten his ruin. They detested his ambition; and all that were zealous republicans resolved rather to perish, than to see the entire extinction of the public liberty. It was agreed in private cabals, that the commonwealth could be no longer maintained without the death of the Dictator: and above sixty

Senators conspired against his life.

Brutus and Cassius, whom Cassar had made Prators for that year, were at the head of this party. Brutus glory'd in being sprung from that ancient Brutus, whom the commonwealth owned for its founder. Love of liberty was transmitted to him with

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with the blood of his ancestors. But though he was a declared enemy to monarchy, he could hardly tell how to hate the monarch, of whom he had received so many favours; and it was only the love of his country, superior to all obligations, that made him enter into the conspiracy. Cassius, on the contrary, naturally proud and imperious, and even a greater enemy of the tyrant than of the tyranny, sought, in Cæsar's undoing, nothing more than to be revenged for some injuries he had received of him; and he came into the plot, not so much for the public good, as to satisfy his private passion.

The conspirators, to give a specious colour to their designs, put off the execution of them to the Ides of March; that is, till the day that Cæsar was to be proclaimed king. Some diviners had fore-told him, That that day would be fatal to him; and the night before, he perceived that Calphurnia his wife sighed and groaned extremely in her sleep. She owned to him in the morning, that she dreamed she held him in her arms run through in many places *. She intreated him not to go abroad that day, and to put off the assembly of the Senate; or, at least, if her prayers could not prevail, no to refuse her the satisfaction of consulting the event by facrifice.

Cæsar, though not very superstitious, could not resuse that complaisance to a virtuous wise whom he loved; the more, because the Augurs bore a great weight; and there were but very sew people who did not run after those presages, which were reputed in those days the interpreters of destiny. A great many sacrifices were offered; and all the signs were ominous. Cæsar resolved to dismiss the Senate, and gave orders for it to Mark Antony, his dearest consident, whom he had made Consul for that year.

^{*} Vel. Pat, L. s. c. so.

Decimus Brutus, who had no less a share in his confidence, tho' one of the conspirators, fearing that if Cæfar put off going to the Senate, the plot might be discovered, remonstrated to him, that fince the Senate was fummoned by his special order, they would take this counter-order for an affront *; that the whole affembly was disposed to proclaim him king of all the provinces out of Italy; and he should not put off the joy which his friends conceived at feeing him invested with that glorious title, which would be a monument and a recompence of his many great victories: and as he was faying feveral more fuch flattering things, he took him by the hand, and drew him out of his house. It is reported, that by the way he received feveral notes, which discovered the conspiracy to him, but that the multitude about him did not permit him to read them; but that he gave them to his fecretaries, as he used to do the petitions that were presented to him, when he appeared abroad.

Scarce was he come down from his litter, when all the conspirators, as to do him honour, surrounded him. Attilius Cimber, who was one of them, presented himself according to what they had agreed, to demand his brother's pardon, who was banished. Upon Cæsar's refusal, Cimber, under pretence of begging it with greater submiffion, laid hold of the bottom of his robe, but pulled it so hard, that he made him bend-his neck. Then Casca drew his dagger, and stabbed him in the shoulder; but the wound proved but flight. Cæfar fell upon him, and threw him down; but as they were fcuffling, another of the conspirators came behind, and stabbed him in the fide. Cassius, at the same time, wounded him in the face, and Brutus pierced his thigh t. He was yet defending himself with much courage; but the blood he loft through fo many

^{*} Plut. in Cæfar.

Book. XIII. in the ROMAN REPUBLIC. 349

wounds, having weakened him, he went to the feet of Pompey's statue *, where he fell and expired, after having been stabbed in three and twenty places by the hands of those whom he thought he had disarmed by his good offices *.

The conspirators, seeing him dead, offered at the same time to give an account to the Senate of the motives of their undertaking, and to exhort them to approve an action, which had restored liberty to their country. But no body would hearken to them: most of the Senators, terrified and filled with amazement, withdrew in great haste. They retired to their houses, where they locked themselves up, without knowing what they had to hope or to fear from so bold an action, and so tragical an event †.

Plut. in Cæfar. † Plut. ibid.

The End of the Thirteenth Book.

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ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK XIV.

After Casar's death, two parties arise in the Commonwealth. One side declares for the conspirators; the other demand, that the death of the Dictator be punished. Marc Antony the Consul declares sometimes for one, sometimes for the other, according as it suits his own private views. His scheme of grandeur crossed by young Octavius, grand-nephew and adopted son of the Dictator. Octavius procures his adoption to be confirmed by the Prator, and declares himself openly heir of his great uncle, whose name he assumes. By Gicero's assistance, he brings the

the Senate over to his interest. The triumvirate of Casar, Antony and Lepidus. Cruel proscriptions. Casar makes use of the forces of Lepidus and Antony, to undo the conspirators and their adherents. He afterwards declares against Antony and Lepidus themselves, and at last remains sole master of the whole Roman empire.

DRUTUS and Caffius, not having had power D to keep the Senate together, went all over the town, followed by their accomplices, with their daggers yet bloody in their hands. To bring the people over to their party, they proclaimed in the ftreets, that they had killed the King of Rome, and the tyrant of their country *. They were preceded by a herald, who on a javelia carried a hat for a fignal of liberty; and they admonished the people to lend them a helping hand in restoring the Commonwealth. Some Senators, that had no share in the plot, joined the conspirators, to do themselves honour, and publicly bestowed large encomiums upon them. But there was nobody among the people, who declared for them. They were no longer those ancient Romans, who preferred liberty before life. Most, become effeminate with the delicacies of Rome, accustomed to live by the fale of their votes, which they gave to the highest bidder, or by the liberal presents of the Dictator, bewailed him as the father of his country. The confpirators, furprifed at their melancholy looks, retired to the Capitol; whither, for their fafety, they carried a great number of gladiators, dependents on Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators; and they faw with regret, that the death of an usurper was going to create fresh calamities in the Commonwealth *. And indeed, Antony, Lepidus, and other more particular favourites of Cæfar, who at first hid

† App. l. 2. c. 37.

^{*} Vell. Pat. 1. 2. c. 58.

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themselves for fear of being involved in his ruin, appeared in public as foon as they perceived this disposition in the people: they called together their Year of creatures, and refolved to revenge the death of the Dictator. Lepidus, by order Rome. of Antony, who was Conful, caufed a body 709. of troops, which he commanded as general of the horse, to advance even into the field of Mars. Antony, on his part, being then first Conful*, and intrusted with the government, caused Cæsar's monev and papers to be carried to his own house, and fummoned the Senate. Never did that august body meet on so important and nice an occasion. They came there to decide, whether Cæfar had been an usurper, or a lawful magistrate; and whether those that had killed him, deferved to be rewarded or punished. Antony, to prevent many of the most noted in the Senate, who held places and governments by no other authority than Cæfar's liberality, from declaring against his memory, put this queftion; Whether, supposing he was declared an usurper, all his ordinances should likewise be declared void +? Whether all the regulations he had made in the empire should be abolished, and the magistrates of the Commonwealth, and governors of provinces, whom he had nominated, be divefted of their dignities?

There were two parties in the Senate, who, without declaring themselves openly, carried on two very contrary designs with abundance of art and dissimulation. Antony, at the head of Casar's creatures and friends, aimed at the sovereign power himself, and sought it in the ruin of all the assafins. The true Republicans, without approving openly what had newly happened, had no other view than the restoring the Commonwealth; and most, being either relations or friends to the con-

^{*} Idem. App. Ibid.

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fpirators, would not have been forry to obtain fome distant governments for them, less to do them ho nour, than to provide for their safety. But as in this new confusion the greater part of the Senators did not see through each other's designs, they all mistrusted one another, and did not open themselves without abundance of caution, not knowing as yet whom they should e'er long be obliged either to love or to hate: so that after several different overtures, they took a medium to content both parties. It was agreed, that nobody should be prosecuted for Cæsar's death; but it was stipulated by the same decree, that all his ordinances should stand.

This was, as it were, to declare him at the fame time both innocent and guilty; fince it was inconfiftent for the Senate to confirm what he had done during his dictatorship, and at the same time to decree, that his murderers should not be prosecuted. Antony was very fenfible of this contradiction; but he durst not oppose this decree of the Senate, for fear of Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators, who was governor of Gallia Cifalpina, and commander of a powerful army. He thought it proper to conceal his real fentiments, till he were able to cope with him, or till fome favourable opportunity enabled him to fnatch his government from him, and to entice away his foldiers, who most of them had ferved under him in Casar's armies. These were the reasons that prevailed with him to subscribe to the Senate's decree. The provinces were distributed at the fame time; Brutus got the government of the ifle of Crete, Cassius of Africa, Trebonius of Asia, Cimber of Bythinia; an dthat of Gallia Cifalpina, given to him by Cæfar, was confirmed to Decimus Brutus. Antony even confented to fee Brutus and Caffius *. There was

^{*} Plut. in Bruto.

a fort of a reconciliation made between those heads of the two parties: but nobody took this to be fin-Their hearts were too much ulcerated to continue in the terms of moderation; and it was not long before Antony showed openly, that he defigned to be revenged on all the conspirators. Cæsar had trusted his will to Piso, his father-inlaw. The time was now come to open it, and at the same time to celebrate the funeral of the Dictator. Cassius opposed it, and was therein seconded by his adherents in the Senate, who feared that the fight of these obsequies would renew the affections of the people, and cause new troubles *. Antony and Pifo, with that very defign, infifted, that one who had been Pontifex Maximus ought not to be deprived of the honours of sepulture. " Those " who boaft of having killed a tyrant, (faid Pifo,) " treat us themselves like tyrants. They are very " willing, that whatever Cæfar has done in their " behalf should be ratified; and at the same time, " in an imperious manner, demand that his last dif-" positions be suppressed +. The Senate (added " Pifo) will regulate what they think the most fit-" ting to honour the obsequies of that great man; " but as to his will, which he deposited in my " hands, I will not betray his trust; and unless I " am deprived of life, I am refolved to read it be-" fore the whole people." The affair was debated by both parties with much warmth. At last Brutus, who perhaps did not foresee the consequences of this step, obliged those of his party to give way to the other. It was decreed, That Cæfar's will should be executed, and his funerals performed at the public charge.

The will being produced, was read in prefence of all the people ‡. There it was found, that he had adopted Octavius, fon to his fifter's daughter, f

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^{*} Plat. ibid. + App. l. 2. c. 40. + App. l. 2. c. 41.

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for his fon and principal heir; that in case he died without heirs male, he had nominated for his next heir Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators; that he had nominated fome others of Brutus's accomplices, to take care of Octavius's education, he being yet but eighteen years old. By the fame will, he left his gardens to the people of Rome; and to every individual citizen the fum of feventy-five Attic drachmas, or three hundred festerces *. The people were extremely moved, when they heard that that great man, of whom they had received for many favours during his life-time, had extended his good will towards them, even beyond his life, by new liberalities. Sentiments of grief and gratitude forced tears from the whole affembly; and this general affection was converted into an indignation against the conspirators, and chiefly against Decimus Brutus, who had plunged his dagger into the bosom of him, who in so honourable a manner had just before appointed him one of his heirs.

Antony, perceiving this disposition in the minds. of the people, fent for the corple into the Forum, to increase their resentment at so moving a fight. He himself pronounced his funeral oration. began it with the recital of his victories and conquests. He next enlarged very much upon that uncommon moderation, which the Dictator had. showed towards his private enemies, during the whole course of the civil war. From this he proceeded to the extraordinary honours which the Senate had decreed him, as an evidence and a recompence of his virtues. He repeated aloud the decree, by which he was declared Father of his country, and his person facred and inviolable. As foon as he had fpoke this last fentence, he made a stop; and turning himself towards the corple laid on the funeral pile, and showing it to the people;

^{*} Plut. in Cæfare.

" See there, (fays he,) how well we keep our oaths, " how grateful we approve ourselves! A perjuret ed and ungrateful crew, (continued he), have " dared to affaffinate the greatest of men; even " that very man, who after having generously " given them their lives in the plains of Pharfalia. " had likewise raised them to the highest digni-" ties in the Commonwealth." And then, as it were, introducing Cæfar himfelf speaking and complaining of their ingratitude: "Wherefore " did I preserve the lives of my murderers? Shall " I not find one friend among that great number " on whom I heaped and accumulated my favours " that will revenge me of the perfidiousness of " those traitors?" Then raising his voice, and stretching forth his hands towards the Capitol, he cried out, " Oh Jupiter! here I am, ready to re-" venge him; I swear it in the most solemn man-" ner: and ye Gods, protectors of this empire, I " conjure you to favour me in the executing fo " just a duty." And still the more to aggravate the grief and refentment of the multitude, he takes Cæfar's robe, and holds it up to their view all bloody. At the same time he shews his image, which he had for that purpofe caused to be made of wax, and on which the artist by his order had expressed the three and twenty wounds, which the Dictator had received both in his face and all other parts of his body.

At this fad spectacle, all the people melted into tears; each celebrated his praises. Some cried up his uncommon valour, others his sweetness and clemency; all equally abhorred the cruelty of the assassing and rage succeeding to compassion, a body of Plebeians hastened to the several houses of the conspirators to set fire to them. But they had provided against it, strengthning themselves with the assistance of their friends and domestics. That multitude, without any other arms, besides their grief

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grief and anger, was eafily beaten off. The people not proving the flrongest, retreated, making bitter imprecations mixed with threats. The most violent fwore aloud, that they would return the next day with fire and fword, to facrifice them to

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The conspirators, and even the Senate, were equally offended at the artful speech of Antony *. The conspirators complained, that the Conful, contrary to the decree of the Senate and his own word, by which it had been agreed to bury all that had passed in oblivion, had so pathetically enlarged on the praises of Cæsar with no other view, but to excite the rage of the people, and promote their ruin. They faw very well, that they could not much depend on his oaths. The conspirators, now pretty fure that he would make the most of the aversion which the people expressed towards them, to bring on their undoing, left Rome, where they could no longer abide with fafety. Most of them upon different pretences retired to their governments. They underhand made themselves sure of the legions and other forces, which they found in the provinces. Several feized on the public monies. The kings and cities of the East, in alliance with the Roman state, promised them powerful succours. party became formidable. Brutus, Caffius, and the other conspirators, made no ill use of it. They, on the contrary, declared, that they were ready to live the remainder of their days out of their native country, and in banishment, provided that Cæfar's creatures did not invade the public liberty.

The Senate, without declaring themselves openly, did however fecretly favour their undertakings, being convinced that the preservation of the republican government depended upon the fuccess of that party. Antony was not ignorant of their

^{*} App. 1. 3. c. 2.

being that way inclined. He knew how odious he had rendered himself to most of the Senators, by his moving the people's anger against the conspirators, under pretence of making Cæfar's panegyric, He found that he had discovered himself too foon. As it was in the Senate's power to crofs his defigns, he resolved to regain their favour, or at least to blind them for a while, by foftening in fome other speeches what he had faid amiss in his funeral oration. He remonstrated in the Senate, That the death of that great man ought more to be afcribed to some of the Gods jealous of, and averie to the prosperity of the commonwealth, than to any of the citizens. That all their attention henceforth should be how to reunite the people's minds, divided on this fatal accident, and to prevent the calamities of a civil war. At the same time, as a seal of peace, he proposed to recal Sextus Pompeius, fon of Pompey the Great, who, fince his father's death, had staid in Spain: to make good to him at the public charge all his estates that had been confiscated, and which Cæfar had divided among his own creatures*. He added, that it was his opinion, he ought to have the fupreme command of all the naval forces of the ftate, in the same manner as his father had before him.

The most resolute republican durst not have proposed such a thing in the present circumstances. The Senate was equally surprised and overjoyed at it. Some attributed this change in Antony to his fear of the conspirators; others suspected, that he did not care to draw the hatred of the Senate upon himself, by setting up for the avenger of Cæsar's death, whilst young Octavius, the Distator's heir, was preparing to reap all the advantages of it. All the Senators, however, extolled him upon it; and bestowed praises so much the sincerer, as they found

^{*} App. 1. 3. c. 1.

in the restoration of young Pompey, the condem-

nation, as it were, of Cæfar's memory.

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Antony, to perfuade them entirely of the fincerity of his intentions, and of his disposition towards maintaining peace, caused one Amatius publicly to be killed in Rome, for calling himself a son of old Marius; and by favour of that great name, and by virtue of a kindred with Cæfar, publicly demanding that his death should be revenged. He had put himself at the head of a considerable party of the most seditious Plebeians. Those mutineers had crected an altar to Cæfar's memory, on the very fpot where his body had been burned; and they required the magistrates and the prime men of Rome to facrifice thereon. Antony, without obferving any judicial form, caused their chief to be stabbed. Several of his accomplices perished in this tumult, and a great number of flaves, who had embraced that party, were immediately hanged by Antony's orders *. Though the Senate neways approved those violent proceedings, as being contrary to the laws, they however thought themselves obliged to diffemble on an occasion, when such a procedure of a Conful and a friend to Cæfar, feemed tending to the greater fafety of the confpirators. The people, on the contrary, were extremely provoked at it. They openly reproached Antony with ungratefulness towards the memory of his benefactor, and with inconstancy in changing fides. Antony failed not to make himfelf a merit with the Senate of this aversion and refentment of the people. He even pretended to be much afraid, left Amatius's followers should attempt his life; and, as if he was not fafe, he required guards of the Senate to arm himself against the people's refentment. The Senate allowed him to be accompanied with some veteran foldiers. But Antony

^{*} App. l. 3. c. 1.

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having brought the Senate to what he intended, chose for his guards none but valiant old officers, who had served under him in Cæsar's armies, and who all passionately longed to revenge the death of their general †. Antony, under several pretences, got a body of near six thousand of them constantly to attend him. To some he gave the title of centurions, and to others the quality of Tribunes. They had orders to make themselves sure, underhand, of the veteran soldiers, in case there might be occasion to complete their cohorts. By this means he found himself in a condition to set on foot a large body of forces in a very short time, if

his interest required him to take up arms.

The Senate was frightened to fee the Conful walk the streets of Rome always attended with that prodigious number of armed officers. His very friends remonstrated to him, how much so extraordinary a guard made him fuspected and odious in a free state. Antony answered them, that he had defired them for no other end than to keep the feditious in awe, and would difband them as foon as every thing in the city should be restored to its former tranquillity. And to remove the fuspicion they might entertain, as if he defigned to fucceed Cæfar in the dictatorship, he afterwards proposed to publish a law, that should for ever abrogate a dignity, which was become odious by the extensiveness of its power: and his advice was accordingly passed into a law by the votes of the people. This step, and his promife of forthwith difmiffing his guards, did feemingly free the Senate of their fears; who perhaps did not think themselves strong enough to make him clear up their doubts more, or to apply a remedy to them.

And indeed Antony was advancing infenfibly towards the fovereign power, notwithstanding those

[†] App. ibid.

protestations. The whole authority of the government was in his sole hands: he was already Consul. One of his brothers, Lucius Antonius, was Tribune of the people, and his other, C. Antonius, was Prætor: he afterwards procured for him, as his lieutenant, the command of an army in Macedonia, composed of six legions, all old soldiers, and who had sollowed Cæsar in all his wars. So many dignities united in one single family, made Antony master of the commonwealth; so that without having taken upon him the title either of King or Dictator, it may be said, that he reigned in Rome with an absolute authority, when he saw young Octavius, Cæsar's grand nephew, arrive there to take possession of his inheritance.

He was fon of a Senator called Caius Octavius, who had been Prætor, and of Accia, daughter of Julia, Cæfar's fifter, who was married to Accius Balbus. Young Octavius not having yet attained the age of eighteen, Cæfar had fent him to Appollonia, a city on the coast of Epirus, to finish his studies, and make himself perfect in his exercises. He had not been six months there, when he heard that his grand uncle had been affassinated by the great men of Rome, and even by those whom he had loaded with his bounties.

This news afflicted him most sensibly. At first he knew not whether the whole Senate had been in the secret, or whether the Dictator sell only by the conspiracy of a few private enemies. He knew as little what share the people bore in so tragical an event; and the letters he received a few days after from his mother, and Marcus Philippus, his fatherin-law, increased his grief and uneasiness greatly. Accia, and Philippus, her second husband, wrote him word how Cæsar had been murdered in full Senate by his best friends; that more than sixty

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[.] Veli. 1 2 c. 59.

Senators had been in that plot; and that even those that had no share in it, did however fecretly favour the conspirators, whom they held for the restorers of public liberty; that this party was very powerful; that Antony, Lepidus, and other friends of his uncle, under pretence of revenging his death, aimed at nothing else but to establish their own power; that the city was filled with troubles and commotions, occasioned by the opposition and animosity of the different parties; consequently, that whilst things flood thus, it behoved him much not to declare his pretenfions, nor his refentment; and there could be no fafety for him, but in an obscure and private life. Some of his friends went even fo far as to advise him to renounce Cæsar's adoption, for fear the conspirators should involve him in his uncle's Others, as fearful, apprehending every moment to fee foldiers come to kill him, were of opinion, that he should seek for shelter in the army of Macedonia, the foldiers whereof were one and all passionate lovers of Cæsar's memory.

Octivius at first view discovered the weakness and mean spiritedness of these counsels, though varnished over with the specious pretence of prudence; and he answered them only with a generous scorn, taking it very ill that they should think him capable of following them. Cæsar's death had afflisted, but not dispirited him: he resolved to revenge it, and to maintain the honour of his adoption at the very peril of his life; and he showed in so nice an affair, and in so early a youth, an innate courage and greatness of soul. All the historians of his time agree, that he possessed an exalted mind, always true and judicious in his designs, capable of the greatest undertakings, and of managing them with the utmost

1kill and industry *.

The first thing he resolved upon, was to cross

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^{*} Vell. Paterc. l. 2. c. 59.

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over into Italy without delay, to learn himself how people were disposed. As he had but few to attend him, he would not land at Brundusium, the usual port for all those that came from the East, lest the garrison, corrupted by some of the conspirators, might have fecret orders to fecure him. He went on shore near a little town called Lupia *, at a small distance from Brundusium, whither he immediately fent fome dextrous persons to inquire if he might venture fafely into the town. The officers and foldiers in garrifon there, understanding that the nephew of their late general durst not come near them for fear of some ambush, went out in a great body to meet him; and after having given him their faith, introduced him into the town, of which they made him the mafter. Octavius thanked them for their faithfulness and attachment to the memory of his uncle. He facrificed to the gods, and in a folemn manner took upon him the name of Cæfar, according to the privilege of his adoption. It is by that name we shall for the future call this man, who made it no less famous than his predeceffor, though by virtues of a different kind.

Young Cæsar, after an action of so much splendor, marched boldly on to Rome, without any other guard than his own servants, and a few friends. But he was supported by the great name of Cæsar, which alone soon got him legions and whole armies to dispose of how he pleased. At the report of his march, the most considerable among his father's friends, his relations, his freedmen, and even his slaves came and joined him. The veteran soldiers whom Cæsar, after the civil wars, had given lands to in Italy, hastened from all parts to offer their services to his adopted son. Money was brought him from all sides; and when he came near to Rome, most of the magistrates, the officers of the

^{*} App. l. 3. c. 3.

army, and the people, thronged out at the gates to meet him. It was taken notice of, that of all the friends and creatures of the Dictator *, Antony alone neglected to pay that duty to his fon, and did not vouchfafe fo much as to fend the least of his fervants to compliment him in his name. Young Cæfar would not feem to take it ill, that he might not be obliged to fall out with him on fo trifling an account, having affairs of much greater moment to transact with him. And when his friends did not forbear publicly to condemn the pride and ungratefulness of Antony, Cæsar, with a seeming good temper, excused him on account of his prefent age, and the prerogatives of the Confular dignity. He added, that being the youngest, he would make the first advances, and wait on him the next morning. But before he went to make that vifit, he defired all his friends to come early, with as mamy people as they could any ways get together into the Forum, to affift at a ceremony and a folemn act, in which the presence of his kindred and friends would be no less necessary than honourable to him.

This ceremony was recording Cæfar's adoption, which, according to the custom amongst the Romans, he was obliged to get authorised by the Prætor. Without this formality it was not lawful for him to assume his name, nor take possession of his estate. So bold a step frightened equally his mother and his father-in-law. They remonstrated to him, that declaring himself Cæsar's heir, he took upon him to prosecute all his murderers; which would draw the hatred of the Senate upon him, who by a decree had ordained, that all things relating thereto should be buried in oblivion; that the conspirators, strong on account of the great number of their adherents, the governments where they had the supreme command, and the legions that

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obeyed them, would all turn their arms against him, as against the promoter of tyranny; that even Antony, who had now rendered himself master of the administration, would not be pleased to see him at the head of a party which should have any other master but himself; and that, tho a creature of Cæfar's, it seemed as if the death of that great man had wiped off all his obligations to him; and that his son would perhaps find him as much averse to his fortune as his assassins, or the worst of his enemies.

Cæfar answered them, That when he had taken that name upon him at Brundusium, he had forefeen all the confequences and all the obligations it brought him under; and that what he faw in Rome; far from inducing him to repent the doing of it, only contributed to confirm him in the resolution which he had taken; that the pardon which the confpirators had obtained from the Senate, had been granted for no other reason, but because no body had the courage to oppose it; but that he did not despair of getting it reverfed, when the Senate should see him at the head of his kindred, of the friends and ancient officers of Cæfar, backed by the authority of the laws, and supported by the love of the people. That the very gods would declare for the justice of his cause; and Antony would perhaps be ashamed at last, that he had not come into it before: that at all adventures he had rather die, than give up an adoption that was fo glorious to him; and it should never be faid of him, that he thought himself unworthy of that name which Cæfar had thought he merited. Accia, feeing him animated with fo noble a courage, and fuch high fentiments, embraced him tenderly; and drowning his face with tears, which joy and fear did confusedly force from her ,

[.] Id. App. ibid.

"May the Gods, my fon, (faid she), conduct you, "where your high destiny calls you. And Hea"ven grant, I may soon see you victorious over all
"your enemies." After this, Cæsar went to the Forum. He presented himself, attended by a vast multitude of his friends, before Caius Antonius Prætor for that year, and the Consul's brother. He declared to him in a solemn manner, that he accepted Cæsar's adoption: and after having caused his declaration to be registred, he went to Pompey's gardens, where Antony resided, and which he had appropriated to himself upon that great man's death.

Antony having learned that young Cæfar was at his door, let him wait there some time, to make him know by that affected difregard, how much he was above him by his office, and what degree of authority he defigned to maintain over him: he was a little time afterwards introduced into his apartment. Their first meeting was cold, though attended with that politeness and civility, which is usual among people of fo great distinction. Cæsar spoke first: he began with returning thanks to Antony for his attachment to the memory of his father, and for his panegyric made at his funeral. Next he complained bitterly, that being Conful, he had consented to the general pardon which the Senate had granted to the conspirators *. " Is it possible, (faid " he, with much warmth and liveliness), that Cx-" far's friend, that he, who actually holds the dig-" nity of Conful from that great man, has not " only fuffered his murderers to escape, but has " confented that governments should be decreed " them, and has fince, in a peaceable manner, " converfed with those affassins? Could I have ex-" pected this of my father's lieutenant, of him " who shared his power and the command of his

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" armies, and whom he raised to the chief digni-" ties of the commonwealth? Take it not amis, " that I conjure you by his memory to alter your " conduct: show yourself to the Senate, the people, and all Rome, the avenger of my fa-" ther's death : join yourfelf to me, join yourfelf "to Cæfar's relations, and fo many officers and " foldiers, who daily call for the punishment of " those affassins. Let us unite our resentment, as " we do our grief; and if we do not think our-" felves ftrong enough, let us call the people to " our affistance. You know it was none of their " fault that we were not revenged before now. But " if the fear of the Senate hinders you from con-" curring in fo just a design, at least do not oppose " me in it. And though I should be alone at the " head of the party, and have yet neither legions " nor other forces, every thing is possible to a " fon, who undertakes to revenge the death of his " father: I only defire, as his chief heir, that you " will deliver up to me all his money, which you " caused to be carried to your own house. I wil-" lingly leave you all his other invaluable treafures " in gold and filver plate, or in jewels of all forts; " but I have occasion for the ready money, to pay " off the legacies which he left to the people; and " to begin to pay three hundred thousand men, " who are mentioned in his will. And whereas " what you could let me have at prefent of ready " money will not be fufficient, I shall be much ob-" liged to you, if you will either lend me fome of " your own, or procure me fome at interest from " the Quæstors or receivers of the public monies, " that I may pay off what shall remain due to the " people and veteran foldiers; till I am able to " raise money by the sale of the whole estate that " my father left me, to discharge those necessary " duties "

The boldness and undauntedness of this speech alarmed

alarmed Antony. He was furprifed to find fuch vast designs in so young a man, and one that was yet but in a private condition. Instead of answering his complaints and demands, he at first pleaded the authority which the Confulate gave him. wrapped himself up, as it were, in his dignity; and made use of it as a barrier, to prevent Cæsars showing him in too near a view, what was just and true. But perceiving he had to do with a man educated in Cæfar's bosom, and accustomed to look on most Consuls as on his uncle's creatures, he at last answered him, That he was very much mistaken if he fancied that Cæfar, by leaving him to inherit his name and his estate, had thereby left him the fame claim and right to the empire: that his death, which had been as the punishment and revenge of the authority which he had usurped, ought to have taught his adopted fon, that the constitution of the commonwealth allowed neither of hereditary nor even of elective fovereigns; therefore that a Roman Conful owed him no account of his conduct : that, on his part, he acquitted him of all the obligations which he pretended to owe him; fince in all that he had done, he had no other view but the welfare of the state, and to maintain peace among his fellow-citizens. "Yet it is I alone; " (continued Antony), that having established " Cæfar's memory, by caufing him to be honour-" ably interred at the public charge, have acquired " you his name, the right of his family, his inhe-" ritance and estate. All this you had lost, if " Cæfar after his death had been treated like an " usurper: for his will had not then been confirm-" ed. There would have been neither will, adop-" tion nor inheritance. No body would ever have " dared to have brought his corpfe into the Forum: " but I chose rather to expose myself to the indig-" nation of the Senate, and the fury of the con-" fpirators, than fuffer that great man to be depriich

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" ved of the honours of sepulture. If I have made " fome concessions to the conspirators, I thought " myself obliged to it from considerations becoming " my age and dignity; confiderations, which a " young man, as you are, is incapable of difcerning. As to the fums of money which you de-" mand, can you be ignorant, that that very mo-" ney belonged to the commonwealth, from which " your father had taken it? It has been shared " among the magistrates since his death, and they " are to lay it out on the feveral occasions of the " state. But, suppose it should be restored to you, " I would never advise you to confume it in larges-" fes and gratifications, as imprudent as they are " useless. You know, that the people is a mon-" fter, who takes on all fides, that is never to be " fatisfied, and who never repaid the good offices " of our citizens but with the basest ingratitude. " And as for you, young gentleman, (continued " he), who have read the history of the Grecian " commonwealths, have not you observed therein, " that all the people's favourites are short-liv'd; and ' that it is building on a bog, to lay the founda-" tion of one's fortune on the transient favour of a " vile populace?"

Through the difguise of these counsels young Cæsar easily saw, that Antony retained his father's money from him for no other end, than to disable him from buying the love of the people. The empire, as it were, was exposed to sale; the multitude, and even the legions prostituted their votes and services to the highest bidder. Young Cæsar, highly offended at a resusal, of which he rightly foresaw all the consequences, went out of Antony's house pierced with grief, soudly invoking Cæsar's name, and calling him, as it were, to his aid against the injustice and ingratitude of the Consul. But as the grand affair was to be before-hand with him in gaining the love of the people, to supply the room

of that money which was refused him, he exposed to fale all the houses and lands that belonged to the Dictator; and publicly declared, That he had not accepted of his inheritance, but in order to prevent the Consul from depriving so many families among the people of the sums left them by the will of his uncle and father.

Antony, on the other hand, to stop all the springs whence young Cæsar might draw money, obtained a decree from the Senate, That an inquiry should be made into the public monies and revenues. This decree retrospected the administration of the Dictator, whose inheritance Antony was refolved to ruin, thereby to put his heir out of a condition of gaining the people by his liberalities: and he at the same time put a stop to the sales which he intended of his principal estates in land. Some private citizens claimed them before the Conful, as the estates of their ancestors*, which Casar, as they faid, had appropriated to himself during the civil wars. Some officers of the revenue interpofed at the fame time to reclaim a part of those lands, as being confiscated for the use of the public, having belonged to attainted perfons. These important debates were all carried before Antony, or some inferior magistrates, who depended upon him. It was in vain, that young Cæfar showed by the deeds of conveyance, that his father had bought those lands with his own monies; and that, suppofing it to be otherwise, that famous decree passed by the Senate after his death, ratified every thing done under Caefar's Dictatorship; and that they ought either to repeal it whole in all its parts, or equally maintain all the acts done by the authority of his father, and during his Dictatorship.

Antony, who only endeavoured to embroil this affair in a maze of law-fuits, maintained on the

^{*} App. 1. 3. c. 5.

contrary, that time ought to be granted to fuch citizens as had been deprived by superior force, to bring in their proofs; and as to the Senate's decree, it appeared, that it was only defigned to maintain those magistrates in their offices, who had been preferred to them by the Dictator, to prevent the state's falling into an anarchy; but he doubted whether that decree extended as far as the estates which Cæsar had appropriated to himself: that an affair of that consequence very well deserved the Senate should explain its intentions therein by a new decree *. After all, he could not believe, that a body of men, to remarkable for their equity, should have pretended to authorize usurpations, tolerated only in those unhappy times, and which hereafter would be put to no other use than to support the pride and luxury of a young man.

Cæsar, not ignorant that his enemies by all these stratagems only defigned to evade the execution of his father's will, did instantly put up his own patrimony to fale, besides the estates of his mother and father-in-law, who willingly parted with them to contribute to his greatness. Young Cafar paid part of the legacies mentioned in the will out of the produce of those sales. The people, charmed with his generofity, cried out, he deferved to bear the name of Cæfar; and as they hoped more favours from him, they declared one and all for him against Antony. The Conful, on his fide, that he might be able to cope with that party, pretended to have fecret notice brought him, that the Getæ had made incursions into Macedonia +. Under that specious pretence, he defired of the Senate, they would grant him the government of that province, and the com-

mand of the army on that frontier.

Though the Senate knew perfectly well, that those Barbarians had made no inroads into the do-

^{*} App. ibid.

minions of the commonwealth; yet they granted the government of Macedonia to Antony, to enable him to balance the power and credit of young Cæfar, who became suspected and formidable by the sums of money he lavished on all hands. The Senate. to maintain their own liberty, used all their induftry to keep the power of the grandees in a balance: and that body of men, formerly fo absolute, was now reduced to trust the forces of the state, and the command of the armies, to fuch as often turned them against their own country: fo that it may be faid, that Rome in those days had scarce any thing

at command, but the choice of her tyrants.

Antony, having obtained that government, fent Caius Antonius, one of his brothers, thither, to draw thence as many forces as he could, and bring them over into Italy. His defign was to make himfelf mafter of Gallia Cifalpina, as the Dictator had done, in order to extend his authority from thence to Rome, and, if possible, to drive young Casar thence. His hatred and jealousy against that son of the Dictator did openly break out at the games, which Crotonius gave the people during his Ædileship. The Senate, as we have feen, had, during the Dictator's life, ordained, by a decree, that at all the public shows, a gilded chair and a crown of gold should for ever be placed there, to make the memory of that great man immortal. Young Cæfar failed not to fend the chair and crown thither. But Crotonius, probably gained over by his enemies, would not admit it, under pretence that it was not just another should carry away the honour of those games, of which he bore the whole expence. The affair was carried before the Conful. Antony, who defired no better than to mortify young Cafar, answered coldly, that he would refer it to the Senate *. " And I, (answered Cæsar haughtily), will

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Plut. in Ant. App. 1. 3. c. 6.

" go and place the chair of my father where it ught to stand, whilst you are consulting the con-

" fcript fathers,"

Antony, who was naturally of a proud temper, provoked at the audaciousness and firmness of that young man, replied, that he forbad him, not only to place it at the games of Crotonius, but even at those which were to be showed at his own expence: and passion carrying him beyond his bounds, he threatened to fend him to prison, if he continued to feduce and corrupt the people by his prodigalities. Cæsar of a more subtil and moderate temper than the Conful, wifely concealed his private refentment. But he knew how to make fufficient advantage of Antony's threats: and that he might turn against him the refentment of the people and foldiery, he used to address his speech to him in the Forum, as if he had been present there himself. After having related all the obstacles he had formed to evade the execution of Cæfar's will, and the opprobrious manner in which the Conful had treated him*: " Wherefore, (faid he,) dost thou oppose " the honours to be paid to a great man, from " whom thou derivest thy own dignity and riches? " Suffer at least, O Antony, that his fon may dif-" charge those legacies, which by his will he has " left to his fellow citizens: I leave you to enjoy " all the rest: I shall be too rich yet, if I can but " inherit his glory, and that love which the people " bore him." Such discourses, repeated artfully on different occasions, raised the populace against the Conful Every one detested his ingratitude: and his own guards, who had all ferved under Cafar, threatned to abandon him, if he continued to persecute the fon of their general.

However great Antony's passion against young Casar was, he saw it behoved him to dissemble.

^{*}App. 1. 3 c 6.

He answered those officers, that he was incapable of proving ungrateful to the memory of his benefactor; that he even preserved a tender friendthip for his fon; but that that young man, proud of the name of Cæfar, offering to put himself on a level with a conful, he thought bimfelf bound to make him fenfible of the fubordination there was betwixt a private citizen, and the chief magistrate of the Commonwealth. But that he was ready to re-admit him again into his friendthip, provided he would for the future know himself a little better, and behave himself towards him with that respect and complaifance which his dignity and age entitled him to. This explanation was followed by an interview, which the officers brought about *. Antony and Cæfar embraced, and promifed to affift each other with the credit of their creatures, and go hand in hand in the execution of their designs. Antony, who had his ends to ferve, requested of him the help of his friends, to procure him the government of Gallia Cifalpina, in lieu of that of Macedonia. That government of Gaul had been given by the Dictator to Decimus Brutus, one of the chief conspirators: and the Senate had confirmed it fince Cæfar's death. Antony, who knew the importance of that government in respect to all Italy, remonstrated to young Cæfar, That fince he was generously disposed to revenge the death of his father, he ought not to suffer, that one of his affaffins should in a manner enjoy the fruit of his crime at the very gates of Rome. Cæfar approved of his defign, and promifed to back him with all his credit with the people. Antony forthwith proposed the affair to the Senate; but he met with great opposition from the majority of the Senate; who faw with grief, that Antony, by turning one of the conspirators out of his government, broke in upon

^{*} Plut. in Anton. App. 1. 3. c. 6.

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the Senatus Confultum, and the general pardon, by which they had fecured the lives and fortunes of all that had a hand in the Dictator's death. There were even some in that body, who observing that Antony was going the same way, which the Dictator had taken, to attain the fovereign power, proposed rather to make that province a free state, than to trust the government of it to a man who was ambitious, a great commander, and who would use it no otherways than as a place of arms, and the feat of his empire. Several of that body advifed Decimus to fortify himself there betimes, and fent him fuccours underhand. So that Antony's proposal having been rejected almost unanimously, he addressed himself to the people, whose Tribunes he had bribed.

It is easy to see, from what we have faid, that the Senate was against undoing the conspirators, whose party they took to be the same with that of liberty. But the people, always short in their foresight, and bribed by Cæfar's gifts, went headlong with him into all his defigns. They granted the government to Antony, in hopes to fee a speedy vengeance taken of the Dictator's affaffins, without confidering that their death would be immediately followed with the loss of their own liberty. They decreed Gallia Cifalpina to Antony, who, by virtue of a Plebiscitum, and against the will of the Senate, sent thither a strong body of forces to drive Decimus Brutus out of it. The enemies of the Senate and the conspirators triumphed on account of the reconcilement of Cæfar and Antony. But it was very hard for two fuch men to continue long united, when their interests were so widely opposite. Antony, thinking himself now master of Italy, regarded young Cæfar less; and the death of a tribune of the people, whose place Cæsar designed to fill with Flaminius, one of his creatures, foon showed, that all this feeming friendship was only as it Ii 2

were a ground for betraying each other afresh, Antony fearing that should Cafar have a tribune entirely dependant on him, he would make use of him to propose things to the people wholly for his own advantage, made use of all his credit and authority to postpone that election, and hinder any affembly from meeting fo foon. At the fame time he made a decree, as Conful, forbidding Cæfar, under severe penalties, from making any new gifts to the people contrary to the law *. This was a fort of declaration of war against him. Their hatred and aversion were kindled anew. Antony never mentioned Cæfar, but with the epithets of a young hair-brained fellow, whom, he faid, it was necessary he should compel to his duty; whilst Cæsar, deeply filent, was laying the foundations of his enemy's ruin. He began with stirring up the refentment of the people against him, not a little incensed at his last mentioned decree against his bestowing largeffes; and fent at the fame time emissaries to all the colonies, which his father had fettled in Italy; and even into Antony's army, who disperfed manifestos against his management, and who underhand made fure of a great number of officers and veteran foldiers. Those who were at Rome, and composed Antony's guards, remonstrated to him, that he was undoing himfelf and them, by his criminal divisions with young Cæsar, and that the Dictator's affaffins only would profit by it. "You are not " ignorant (faid the Tribunes and principal officers " to him) that the same parties which formerly di-" vided the Commonwealth betwixt Cæfar and " Pompey, have yet a being. The one always " makes use of the plausible pretence of defending " public liberty, and the other aims at revenging " the Dictator's death. We have chosen you to

" command over us, as his test friend, and in

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" hopes that his lieutenant and first commander of " his party would make use of his own and our " courage, to obtain a full revenge of those villains " who have affaffinated him. These are the mo-" tives of our trust and of our engagements. "Your fafety and ours both depend upon the un-" doing of the conspirators. If their party pre-" vails in the government, we must all expect to be " profcribed as the accomplices of Cæfar, and the " ministers of an usurper; and though under his " command we fpilt our blood to extend the " bounds of this empire, Cæsar's soldiers will be " found guilty, if his enemies get the better of " them. Nothing can uphold our party, but your " union with young Cæfar. Affift him, help us " to destroy the party opposite to ours; let it not " be faid, that Cæfar's best friend crosses his son, " in his generous design of revenging his father's " death."

Antony was not less desirous of destroying the conspirators than his officers, but he could not brook that it should be owing to Cæfar *; and he feared, that under pretence of revenging his father's death, he would feize on the fovereign power by the ruin of the republican party: this was the fecret grounds of their differences Antony would gladly have lent young Cæfar his troops and his credit to destroy his father's murderers, if he would have acknowledged him for his fuccessor in the administration of the Republic. However, as it behoved him much to retain with him that crowd of officers who had followed his fortune fince the Dictator's death, he answered those who came with that errand from them, That he was glad he had an opportunity of giving them an account of his conduct, and to lay his very foul open to them. He added, that he promifed himfelf, that after they had heard him, they would find he had want d neither courage to defend the memory of their general, nor prudence or skill to improve any

opportunity of revenging his death.

" I shall not (fays he) remind you of the tu-" mult, commotion and disturbance which Rome " was in immediately after the Dictator had been " affaffinated in the middle of the Senate. The " general cry was, that the commonwealth was re-" Stored: and the Senate seemed even disposed to " decree a reward to the murderers, as to the au-" thors of liberty. If this had been effected, Ca-" far's memory had been attainted like that of a "tyrant, and we should all have been involved in " the fame fentence. I was thoroughly fenfible what " would be the confequence of fuch a reward, and " I alone stood it out against all the conspirators, " their kindred, and their friends; and if I may " venture to speak so boldly, against the whole " Senate itself. But as their adherents did no less " foresee, that if Cæsar was not declared an usur-" per, the conspirators ought to be punished, and " that each party was obstinate in defending their " own opinion; it was at last agreed for the fafety " of both fides, instead of a reward, to grant them " a general pardon By this means I fecured Ca-" far's memory; I preferved the glory of his name " entire; I faved his estates and goods from being " forfeited; and prevented that adoption from " being cancelled, which now makes young Cafar " fo daring. He enjoys the fruits of my cares; " and if to get his father's will confirmed, I have " confented to a pardon in favour of the conspira-" tors, that does not argue that my defign was to " fecure their lives. I only reprieved them; it " was not my fault, if they were not all tore to " pieces on the very day of Cæfar's obsequies: I " call to witness those who saw it, in what manner, " under pretence of deploring Cæfar's fate, I raif-" ed

" ed the fury of the people against his murderers, " and put them under a necessity of stealing out " of Rome. I no fooner heard that they were " raifing forces, but that I might not be taken un-" provided, I got the government of Macedonia " decreed to me, which has made me mafter of fix " legions which were in that province. I intend " to make use of them for yours and my safety; " and it is to render us still fecurer, that I have be-" fides obtained of the people, notwithstanding the " opposition of the Senate, the government of " Gallia Cifalpina, whence, by your affistance, I " hope to drive Decimus Brutus. Such has hi-" therto been my conduct; and I am very unwil-" ling to hide any of my most secret designs from " my friends, and those gentlemen who are to share " the glory of them, as well as the performance. " I even confent, that you communicate this to all " that are in the fame interest. I only except against " Cæfar, whose pride and ingratitude I have al-" ready too much experienced."

This speech of Antony, wherein it seemed as if he had wholly unbosomed himself, satisfied his officers in some manner. Yet they required of him, that he should be reconciled with young Cæsar again. He was forced to consent to an interview, wherein, after mutual complaints, excuses and embraces, they parted just as sincere friends as they

were before.

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Cæfar was very willing that Antony, as his father's lieutenant and creature, should help him to revenge his death; but he would not put him at the head of a party, which, after the deteat of the conspirators, would be master of the republic: and Antony, at the bottom, very indifferent about this revenge, pretended to be in earnest, with no other view than to make himself a merit of it with the soldiery. The sovereign power was the only mark he aimed at; whatever could obstruct that secret

view, was equally odious to him; and he hated Cæsar no less than Brutus or Cassius, though he was forced to keep more measures with the first, because of the love which the people and those officers and soldiers bore him, that had served under his father.

It was to make him lofe that affection, in which confifted his main strength, that he caused several of his own guards to be put under arrest, pretending they had fuffered themselves to be corrupted by young Caefar to make away with him. An accufation of that moment made a great impression on the minds of the people, and their open enmity made it the more probable. Every body was of opinion, that it was a horrid crime to attempt the life of a Conful. Besides, the very adherents and friends of young Cæsar thought they had occasion for a commander of Antony's abilities, to oppose Brutus, Cassius, and the other chiefs of the conspi-Cæfar, enraged at those reports spread against his honour and reputation, hastens into the city, shows himself in all the streets, calls the people together, and remonstrates to them, that so black a calumny had been invented only with defign to ruin him in their opinions, and to make him lofe their good-will. He calls the gods to witness his innocence, and loudly demands to be brought to his trial. From thence he goes to Antony's own house, defying him to produce those that were accused, the informers, and the witnesses. But as entrance was denied him, he made a thoufand imprecations against Antony, whom he called a cheat and an impostor *. " I require no other " judges (faid he) but your own friends, if they " can find but the least glimpse of truth in the " charge against me, wherewith thou attemptest to " blacken my name."

The people, according to custom, judged of the ground of this accusation by what they saw outwardly. He that spoke with most boldness and vehemence, seemed guiltless to them. Some did even not scruple to say openly, that this accusation was no more than a new stratagem of Antony, to have a pretence of increasing his guards. Some suspected both the accuser and the accused of a secret intelligence. They said, they had made this rout with no other view, than that they might take up arms without alarming those who might have feared they designed jointly to turn them against the

public liberty.

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But their enfuing conduct showed sufficiently, that each only fought the other's deftruction, and aspired to remain alone at the head of that party which was opposite to that of the conspirators. They raised forces both at the same time. Antony ordered the four legions which he had drawn from Macedonia, to march towards Rome, with which he defigned to make himself master of Gallia Cif-He flattered himfelf, that Lepidus, who alpina. was in Spain, at the head of four legions, Plancus, who commanded three more in Gallia Transalpina, and Afinius Pollio, who had two at his command, all three ancient lieutenants of the Dictator, would declare for him. Young Cafar, fearing to be furprifed and crushed by his enemy, raised on his part ten thousand men in Campania, and got two of Antony's legions, that of Mars, and the fourth, to come over to his fide. But as he was invested neither with a military title, nor any magistracy, which gave him right to head an army, especially against a Conful, he endeavoured to get the Senate on his fide. He fucceeded therein by Cicero's credit, who always opposed Antony's pretentions and party. Cicero was his enemy for no other reason, than that he believed him an enemy of the Commonwealth. It is what he mentions himself, in

that vehement speech which he made against him in the Senate; that great orator, that intrepid defender of the liberty of his country, seeing Antony ready to invade Gallia Cisalpina, perfuaded the Senate to send young Cæsar's troops against him *. The ablest of that body, who most of them were related to some of the conspirators, approved a counsel which would sow division in the contrary party; and they despaired not of advancing the

ruin of the chiefs by their mutual hatred.

Young Cæfar was not ignorant of their defign, He was well apprifed of the fecret correspondence the Senate kept up with the conspirators: but as, in the present circumstances, Antony seemed to him the most formidable adversary, he resolved to dissemble with the Senate, to suspend his hatred against his father's affaffins, and endeavour to rid himself of Antony, before he turned his arms against them. It was from this motive, and to dazzle the Senate's eyes, of whom he would continue to feign himself the minister, that he refused the title of Proprætor, which his foldiers were for conferring on him. And when his most intimate friends, and those whom he consulted chiefly in the most secret and important affairs, remonstrated to him, that his army would fcruple to obey a citizen without any dignity or magistracy: "The Senate " (faid he to them in private) has just now declared " for me; but this declaration proceeds not so much

" from friendship to me, as their fear of Antony.
"They seem sure of my submission, and it is my
"interest to give them no cause to mistrust me. I

" refuse the title of Proprætor, which the army of-" fers me, only to engage the Senate to confer it

on me."

And indeed, the Senate was imposed on by that outward modesty. They thought it became their interest to amuse him likewise, and flattered themt

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marks of distinction, which carried more show than power with them. By a public decree, they conferred that very title on him which he had lately refused; and, to bind him faster to their interest, they ordered a statue of gold to be erected for him in the Forum. By the same decree they gave him a place in the Senate, and leave to put up for Conful ten years fooner than the laws permitted. But through the difguife of these signal favours, it was not difficult for Cæfar to perceive, that the Senate was only intent upon diverting him from minding his father's death, or disabling him to revenge it. Antony, on his part, by virtue of a decree of the people, but against the will of the Senate, had, as we have feen above, caused the government of Gallia Cifalpina to be conferred on him, though Decimus Brutus, one of the heads of the conspiracy. had been invested with it by the Dictator, and confirmed in the possession of it by the Senate, after the Dictator's death. Antony, after having feized most of the towns of that province, now actually held Decimus befieged in Modena. The Senate. provoked at an undertaking against their orders, fent to acquaint him with a decree, by which he was commanded to raife that fiege; to depart forthwith from Gallia Cifalpina; to march his army back over the Rubicon, a river that parted that province from the rest of Italy; and on the banks of that river to wait for the Senate's further com-All this he was ordered, under the penalty of being declared an enemy to his country It was Cicero, Antony's enemy, who had formed that decree. He could not have made the Senate speak more haughtily, nor with more dignity, if the strength of the commonwealth had been proportionate to her majestic stile. But Antony, feeing himfelf at the head of a great body of forces at the gates of Rome, laughed at the decree. He

He answered proudly, That fince they would deprive him of a government which he had obtained from the good-will of the people, he should find means to render that pardon useless, to which he had consented out of bare complaisance to the Senate; and that he hoped in a little while to facrifice Decimus Brutus to the manes of great Cæsar.

His answer was taken for a declaration of war.

Tear of The Senate, incensed at his rebellion, ordered Hirtius and Pansa, who were newly chosen Consuls, and young Cæsar, to join their forces, and march to the relief of Decimus. Pansa was at the head of four legions, but made up entirely of new levies; and Hirtius, by a secret order of the Senate, who were resolved to weaken Cæsar's army, required him to return the legion of Mars, and the fourth, which

had quitted Antony's party.

Cæsar, to give proof of his deference for the Consul, surrendered those troops to him instantly. Tho' those two legions were come over to him from a principle of attachment to the memory of his father, he made as if he did not see thro' the Senate's views; and having occasion for its affistance and authority to get rid of Antony, he thought that to know how to lose upon a proper occasion, was no loss, but rather gain. He afterwards joined the remainder of his forces to those of the Consuls; and the son of the Dictator was seen to follow the enfigns of his enemies to the relief of one of his father's affassins.

Antony likewise advanced at the head of his forces. They soon came to a battle: the fight was long and obstinate; nothing but the night put an end to it. The loss was pretty equal on both sides, if we except that of the Consul Pansa, who in the heat of the action was mortally wounded. Antony marched his army back into his lines Hirtius and Cæsar undertook a few days after to force them;

and as they were of great extent, Hirtius found out a place weaker guarded than the rest, which he carried fword in hand. He fell next upon the camp. Antony fet two legions against him, which, after a long resistance, were cut to pieces; and the Conful would have defeated the whole army, if he had not been killed whilft he was fighting with too much ardour at the head of his legions *. His fall flackened their courage, and Cæsar, who by the death of one Conful, and the wound of the other, was left chief commander of the whole army, contented himself with preserving the advantage he had gained. His defign was to starve Antony, or force him to another battle. Antony, weakened by thefe losses, and fearing the event of a third battle, raised the fiege. As he was not in a condition to keep the field before a victorious army, and superior to his own in ftrength, he marched towards the mountains, whence he took the road to Gallia Tranfalpina, in hopes to get Lepidus to declare for him, and also Plancus and Afinius Pollio, who in those large provinces commanded feveral bodies of men.

The Senate, overjoyed at Antony's defeat, whom they now conceived to be utterly undone, fent orders to their generals to oppose his passage, and took but little notice of Cæsar, from whom they thought henceforth they should have nothing to sear. Without any regard to his dignity of Proprætor, the command of the army was taken from him, and given to Decimus Brutus, with orders to give Antony no time to breathe. but to pursue him forthwith, and treat him like a public enemy. This conduct showed Cæsar what he was to expect from most of the Senators; and Pansa, before he died, discovered to him the true and secret spring of all their designs. That Consul, being at the point of death, sent for young Cæsar to him; and when he

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^{*} App. 1. 3 c. 15.

was come to his bed-fide, spoke to him in this man-"I always loved your father more than my. " felf. Though fome prudential reasons, to which even you have submitted yourself, have retained " me in the party of the Senate; I never laid afide " the defire nor the hopes of revenging his death. " My own, just at hand, deprives me of that com-" fort; but before I expire, I will at least acquit " myself towards the son of what I was indebted to " the father. Know then, that you are not less hated " nor suspected by the Senate than even Antony your adversary. They hate you both equally: " Nothing has pleafed them more than to fee you " fall out, and they flatter themselves to make you " both the instruments of each other's ruin. If " they declared for you, it was only because they " thought you the weakest, and the man they could " the soonest overcome. My design, far different " from that of the Senate, was to compel Antony " by force of arms to be reconciled with you; to " join our armies, and, in conjunction, pursue " the murderers of our common benefactor. It is "the only thing left for you to do. Agree with " Antony; you'll find him more pliable fince his " defeat. I return you your two legions, and I " would as gladly furrender up to you the rest of " my army; but they do not entirely depend up-" on me. The officers are most of them the spies of " the Senate, that have fecret orders to observe our " cenduct." The Conful died presently after this. Crefar put himself at the head of his forces, to which he joined the Martial and the fourth legion. Torquatus, by the Senate's command, delivered the rest of the army up to Decimus Brutus, who immedistely marched in purfuit of Antony, to draw him to a battle; and he despaired not of overtaking him before he had reached the Alps.

The Senate had made choice of Decimus for no other reason, than to have an army entirely deper-

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dant upon its orders. Cæfar refented that preference highly. He faw with grief, that the Senate, by putting one of the conspirators at the head of the Commonwealth's forces, seemed to justify his crime. This affront inclined him to a reconciliation with Antony, according to Pansa's advice: but as his own interest was the sole rule of his conduct, and that he aspired no less to make himself the heir of the Dictator's power, than of his name and estate, he apprehended that in joining with Antony, that general would pretend to be acknowledged the head of the party, and would make use of those very forces that had so lately defeated him, to make himself master of the government.

Cæsar, in this uncertainty, resolved to keep in equally with the Senate and Antony, and to delay declaring himself till he was sure which party Lepidus and Plancus would take, and then he would chuse which enemy to attack the first. That he might give a guess at the disposition of these different parties, his friends at Rome demanded in his name, that he might be chosen Consul in the room of Hirtius and Pansa, deceased; and at the same time he sent a great number of officers back to Antony, that had been taken prisoners in the last

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Decius, the oldest of those officers, and Antony's intimate friend, after having thanked him for his liberty, asked him how he was inclined towards his general? Cæsar did not think fit at first to lay himfelf quite open, and answered him only, that Autony might easily judge of it by his conduct. This was to oblige that general to make the first overtures. But understanding that the Senate, far from decreeing him the Consulate, were only meditating how they should reduce him to a private life, he saw clearly, that his interest required he should unite himself with Antony. He began to communicate his mind to Lepidus, Plancus, and

Kk 2 Afinius

Afinius Pollio, all old officers of the Dictator, and with whom he had always maintained a fecret correspondence. He wrote to them, that the Senate, all made up of Pompey's adherents, opposed his rife, only because he was Cæsar's son; that themfelves ought not to expect a more favourable treatment; that they studied only how to divide them, in order to crush them afterwards more easily one after another. That this conduct ought to shew them what should be theirs, and that he intreated them to unite firmly with him to maintain the party of their late general. By the way, he added fome complaints against Antony; but in so artful a manner, that it was eafily feen he was not averfe to a reconciliation. He gave a new proof thereof, by letting Ventidius, a lieutenant of Antony, escape when he might eafily have defeated him. That officer having raifed three legions, was endeavouring to join his general's army. Cæfar overtook and furprifed him with fuperior forces. He had furely been defeated, if Cæfar would have fallen on; but he contented himfelf with showing him, that his deftiny was in his power. He gave him the choice either to embrace his party, or to continue his march; and Ventidius having told him he was not capable of relinquishing Antony's interest, Cæfar giving him leave to retreat, ordered him to tell him in his name, that he acted directly contrary to their common interest *.

All this while, Antony, pressed by Decimus Brutus, who commanded the army of the Commonwealth, endeavoured to gain the Alps. He met in his passage Culeo, a lieutenant of Lepidus, who guarded the passes: he must have perished with his whole army in those mountains, if Culeo had been faithful to his general †. But he suffered himself to be bribed by Antony, who with a good sum

^{*} App. l. 3. c. 18.

opened himself a paffage, and continued his march. Decimus having drove him out of Italy, wrote to the Senate, that he had difperfed his army; that Antony himself was hiding and skulking somewhere among the Alps; and he hoped that he would foon fall into his hands. The Senate heard this with an uncommon joy. The Senators of Pompey's party cried out, that the Commonwealth had at last recovered its liberty: and as if Antony had been actually taken, the Senate named ten commissioners to try him. The least thing that was talked of, was to repeal all the laws he had made fince Cæfar's death; and they even by degrees aimed at including in this repeal all the ordinances of the Dictator, to refettle the Commonwealth on its ancient foundation.

Antony the while, after having passed the Alps, was entered into Gaul. He immediately wrote to Lepidus, Plancus, and Afinius Pollio, to remind them of their ancient friendship, and defire them to join with him against the conspirators, and the other enemies of Cæfar's memory. Lepidus, who had got the government of Spain, was full in Gaul. He was equally furprized and puzzled at Antony's arrival. He was a man more regarded for the merit of his ancestors, than his own worth; of a narrow mind; ambitious without courage; enterprizing, and yet timorous at the fame time. He communicated the reason of his uneafiness to Juventius Laterensis, his particular friend, to whom he showed Antony's letters. Juventius, who was a zealous Republican, omitted nothing to diffuade him from joining Antony; but in order to conceal his attachment for the Senate, he artfully flirred up his ambition: he remonstrated, that having seven legions at his difpofal, he was looked on as the most powerful general of the Commonwealth; and that he would always rule, which fide foever he choic. But that, if he joined Antony, he could not avoid Kk 3 lubmitting

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fubmitting to the authority of a haughty and violent Confular, who would scarce leave him the rank of one of his lieutenants in his own army. The jealoufy about command determined Lepidus to reject Antony's proposals, though they were both friends and creatures of the Dictator. He fent him word, that fince the Senate had declared him an enemy to his country, he could not join his forces to his, without drawing on himfelf a decree of the fame nature: but he affured him at the fame time, that whatever orders he received from Rome he would carefully avoid coming to any engagement. Afinius Pollio, on the contrary, more steady and ever faithful to the Dictator's party, fent Antony word, he should always find him disposed to join with him to revenge the death of their general. Plancus, ever doubtful and wavering, kept at the fame time a fecret intelligence with both parties. He flattered Antony and Decimus Brutus by turns that he would join them; but he always deferred declaring himfelf, till he faw how things went.

Antony, on his part, faw his ruin unavoidable. if the Senate's authority should prevail with those unsettled minds, and move them to act in harmony with Decimus Brutus against him. During this uneafinefs, which showed him all the danger without any way to escape from it, he took a resolution worthy of his magnanimity, but which was perhaps alfo caused by the extremity to which he saw himfelf reduced. He marched strait up to Lepidus's army; he marked out his camp just near his, but without fortifying it, as if they had been of the fame party and interest. He fent immediately to him; bade him confider, that the Senate aimed only at destroying all Cæsar's generals one after another by obliging them to turn their arms against each other: and, putting him in mind of their former friendship, he conjured him by Cæfar's memory, to contribute his fhare in revenging the

death of that great man,

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The affair was taken into cenfideration, and a treaty fet on foot; but whilft some officers were going backwards and forwards *, Lepidus's foldiers, who flighted him as much as they valued Antony, being besides bribed by those of that Conful, received him by night into their camp, and owned him for their general. Some even offered to kill Lepidus, if he would command them to do it. Iuventius Laterensis, who had so much disfuaded him from uniting with Antony +, feeing his friend abandoned and betrayed by his foldiers, killed himfelf with his own fword. Some historians infinuate, that Lepidus threw himfelf at Antony's feet, begging he would fpare his life. Antony did not mifuse his good fortune; he treated the unhappy Lepidus with a great deal of humanity: he even left him the title and outward marks of generalship, though he alone performed all the functions of it. Afinius Pollio came about the fame time to offer him his two legions. Munatius Plancus, always governed by events, did then openly declare against the Senate and Decimus Brutus: and Ventidius, whom young Cæfar had graciously suffered to make his way to Gaul, joined Antony there with three more legions: fo that that general, who a little before was driven out of Italy by young Cæfar and Brutus, now found himself in a condition to return thither at the head of feventeen legions ‡.

So furprifing a change in Antony's fortune, threw the Senate from an excess of confidence into the utmost despondency. Upon the news Decimus fent them, that he had drove Antony into the mountains, where, he said, he could not avoid perishing either for want, or by the arms of Lepidus §; most Senators had believed that party entirely ruined; and they thought to compel young

Cæfar,

^{*} Velleius, l. 2. c. 63. + App. l. 3. † Plut. in Anton. § App. l. 3. c. 18. D. H. l. 46.

Cæsar, whom they no less suspected, to disband his legions, under pretence that the republic had no farther occasion for them, the war being ended. Cæfar, to ward this blow, which would have left him naked and defenceless, resolved to put up for Conful, with a view, that if he obtained that dignity, he should have a privilege to keep his forces on foot, and to command those of the commonwealth; and that if the Senate should oppose him, such a refufal would furnish him with a pretence of remaining armed, to revenge himself of those that should have declared against him. It is said, that from that very time he took measures to be reconciled with Antony; but that he might not truckle to his authority, he put up for the Confulate, that by means of this dignity he might be the head of the party which he should espouse. And as Cicero then bore a great sway in the Senate, he intreated him by some common friends to use his interest, that they might both be chosen Consuls at the same time. To perfuade him to do it, he remonstrated, that he only defired the title of that dignity, of which he would leave him the whole power; and that he wished to be his colleague only to be his disciple, and learn the art of government under fo great a master.

Cicero, missed by these praises, of which he was very greedy, and relishing the pleasure of governing Cæsar, declared in his favour. He remonstrated to the Senate with his usual eloquence, that he knew no surer way to prevent Cæsar's reconciliation with Antony, than to create him Consul: that as such, he could not avoid maintaining the Senate's decrees against Antony; but as he was yet very young, he admonished the conscript fathers to appoint him such a colleague, as by his age and prudence might be capable to have an eye on his conduct, and be a fort of a governor to him in the management of affairs. Several Senators, friends

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or kindred of the conspirators, and who feared that young Cæfar, when arrived to the Confulate, would use his authority to revenge the death of the Dictator, rejected Cicero's propofal with much warmth*. Some even laughed openly at his vanity, and the indirect manner in which he appointed himfelf to be chosen young Cæsar's colleague. affair was warmly debated in the Senate. Cæfar, to strengthen his party, caused his army to advance near Rome. The report of his march had a greater effect than all the eloquence of the Roman orator. The Senators, frightened at his approach, not only chose him Consul, but as he thought he had now no farther occasion for Cicero's credit, he caused Quintus Pedius, one of his relations, and a legatee of the Dictator, to be chosen second Conful to his exclusion.

The first step he made after he had taken possesfion of the Consulate, was to get his adoption confirmed in a general affembly of the Roman people. This being determined, he caused those to be impeached by fome of his adherents, who had a hand. in Cæsar's murder. Himself presided at the trial :and he condemned all the confpirators to lofe their lives for not appearing. But as Brutus and Cassius, their chiefs, were at the head of more than twenty legions, he rightly judged it would not be eafy for him to deftroy to powerful a party, as long as Antony should continue to oppose him. Therefore he refolved to be reconciled to him, under the specious colour of joining their forces to revenge his father's death. To make the disposition of his mind towards him known, he got Quintus Pedius, his colleague and creature, to infinuate to the Senate, That it was for the advantage of the commonwealth to recal Antony, and not to drive to the utmost extremity a great commander, who was no lefs to be

^{*} App. ibid. c. 18.

dreaded than Sylla and Marius had been. The nearness of his army encamped at the gates of Rome, gave his counsels the weight of so many laws: and though most Senators clearly saw, that he only designed to strengthen himself with the help of Antony against the defenders of the public liberty, they were no longer in a condition to act conformably to their good intention. They were forced to yield to a power, which followed no other rule for its conduct, than that of its private interest *. The Senate solemnly repealed all the decrees enacted against Antony and his adherents; and Cæsar offered him to join their forces, and march against Brutus and Cassius.

Antony returned over the Alps into Italy with his feventeen legions. Decimus, not finding himfelf in a condition to oppose him, meditated a retreat into Macedonia, where Brutus was. greatest part of his army deserted him: four legions submitted to Antony, and other's joined Cafar's army. Decimus, seeing so general a defertion, endeavoured to fave himfelf in the mountains near Aquileia; but he was seized in the defiles of those mountains, and his head was cut off by Antony's command. Thus perished Decimus Brutus, the confident and favourite of Julius Cæfar. He had been general of his horse. The Dictator had got him chosen Contul for the ensuing year, and governor of Gallia Cifalpina. The civil war broke out, as we have feen, on account of that very government, which Antony disputed with him, under pretence, that he ought not to retain an employment, which he had received merely from the bounty of a man, whom he had stabbed himself for a tyrant, and the usurper of the government +.

Cæfar, who wished nothing more than to be reconciled with Antony, sent to thank him for having

^{*} App. l. 3 c. 41. + App. l. 3. c. 22. Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 64.

put Decimus to death, as a victim to his father's ghost. This was the motive or the pretence of their reconciliation. They were both equally inclined Antony had lately experienced before Modena, what the name of the Commonwealth was yet capable of doing: and as he began to despair of making himfelf fole mafter of the fovereign power, he refolved to share it with young Cæsar. Cæsar on his part feared, that if he deferred any longer to unite with Antony, that party-chief would at last join with the conspirators, as he had actually fent to threaten him he would do, and that their united forces would re-establish the republican government. So that peace was eafily ftruck up betwixt two enemies, who found an equal advantage in becoming friends. Some of their common friends made them confent to an interview: the conference was held in a little defart ifland, which the river Panaro forms near Modena *. Both armies encamped upon its banks; bridges of communication had been from thence into the island, upon which they had posted guards. Lepidus was present at this interview; and though he had nothing left but the name and outward appearances of a genecal, Antony and Cæfar, who were always upon the watch against each other, were not forry that a third, whom they had nothing to fear from, should interpose in the disputes which might arise betwixt them Lepidus therefore entered the first into the island, to view whether it was fafe for them both to venture into it. Such was the unfortunate condition of those ambitious men, who even in the midft of a reconciliation could not help miftrufting each other. Lepidus having made the fignal that had been agreed on, the two gene-Rome, rals entered the island each from the op-They first embraced, and posite shore. without entering into any difquifition about things

past, they advanced towards the place of conference, which was on the highest ground, and whence they could equally be feen by their guards, and even by both armies. They three fat down with nobody else near them. Cæfar, as Conful, took the most honourable post, and fate betwixt the other two. They then debated, what form of government they should fettle in the commonwealth, and by what title they fhould share the fovereign power, and retain their armies to support their authority. The conference lasted three days; the particulars of what paffed there are not known: only by what followed it appeared, that they had agreed, that Cæfar should abdicate the Confulate, and for the rest of that year invest Ventidius, one of Antony's lieutenants, therewith. But that Lepidus, Cæfar, and Antony, by the title of Triumviri, should possess the sovereign power for five years. They limited the time of their authority to that fmall number of years, to avoid declaring themselves too openly at first the tyrants of their country.

These Triumviri did next divide the provinces betwixt them, and also the legions and treasures of the commonwealth. And they went about this division of the whole empire, says Plutarch, as if it had been an inherited estate, or their patrimony *.

Antony retained the Gauls for himself, except only that province which joins the Pyrenean mountains, which together with both Spains was yielded to Lepidus. Cæsar got for his share Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, and other islands of the Mediterranean Asia being in possession of the conspirators, was not shared at this time: but the Triumvirs agreed, that Cæsar and Antony should forthwith join their forces to drive them thence; that each of them should head twenty legions; and that Le-

^{*} Plut. Mant.

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pidus with three others should stay in Italy and Rome, to maintain their authority there. His two colleagues allotted him no share in the war they were going to undertake, because they entertained no great opinion either of his abilities or courage. It appears, that Cæsar and Antony had taken him in for a partner in the Triumvirate with the sole view of leaving with him, during their absence, the supreme authority as it were in trust; because they were well assured, that they could at any time easier rid themselves of him than of another general, if ever he broke his faith with them, or became use-less.

The ambition of the Triumvirs was fatisfied by this partition. But as they had occasion for immenfe fums to carry on the war, and that they left besides in Rome and in the Senate a great number of concealed enemies, and fome republicans yet zealous for liberty; they resolved, before their departure from Italy, to facrifice to their own fafety and profcribe the richest and most powerful citizens. They drew up a lift of them *. Each Triumvir let down his private enemics, and even the enemies of his creatures. They carried their cruelty fo far, as each to give up their own relations, and even some of their nearest kindred. Lepidus facrificed his brother Paulus to his colleagues: Antony, on his part, abandoned Lucius Cæfar, his mother's own brother, to Cæfar's refentment: and the last suffered Antony to make away with Cicero, though that great man had supported him with his credit against this very Antony. In short, in this fatal lift were feen Thoranius, governor of young Cæsar, the very man who had taken fuch a particular care of his education. Plotius, Conful elect, and brother of Plancus, one of Antony's lieutenants, and Quintus his colleague in the Confulate, had the fame fate; though this latter was father-in-law to Asi-

^{*} Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 66 67.

nius Pollio, a warm stickler for the Triumvirate, The most facred rights of nature were violated: three hundred fenators, and more than two thoufand knights, were involved in this horrible proscription *. By this profitable revenge the Triumvirate grew rich, and lessened the number and power of the republicans. Rome was no more, or at least liberty was banished thence; and the Commonwealth had a being no where, but in the camp of Brutus and Caffius. Cæfar and Antony, according to their concerted plan, croffed over into Macedo. nia to go in fearch of them. The forces were pretty equal in both parties; and if Cæfar's and Antony's legions were more compleat, Brutus and Cassius on the other hand were stronger in cavalry. They had twenty thousand horse in their army, when the Triumvirs could hardly muster thirteen thousand in their's.

Thefe two armies were encamped near the town of Philippi, fituated upon the borders of Macedonia and Thrace. There were at first various skirmishes, Year of wherein the troops of the conspirators had always the advantage. At last came on Rome, the day, which was to decide the fortune 711. and deftiny of the Commonwealth. These great bodies moved and marched against each other

with equal fury.

I shall not enter into the particulars of a battle, which has been related by many historians; because it is foreign to my subject. This battle decided the fate of the commonwealth. Liberty was buried in the fields of Philippi, together with Brutus, Cassius, and the chiefs of the conspirators, and the last of the Romans. Brutus indeed defeated that body where Cæfar was: but Antony got the better of Caffius. That general, fancying his colleague had met with the same ill success, obliged one of his

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^{*} App. 1. 4. c. I. D. H. Nic. 1. 47.

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freedmen to kill him; and Brutus, having hazarded the fate of arms a fecond time, loft the battle, and killed himself, that he might not fall alive into the hands of his enemies. The Triumvirs, by this victory, fettled their empire on the ruins of the Commonwealth *. Such great fuccesses were owing not fo much to Cæfar's valour, as to his cunning and management; having found the way to make use of Antony's sword, whilst for his share, to carry on the common cause, he contributed nothing but schemes, whose secret springs he even concealed from both his colleagues. He was not ashamed, on the eve before the battle, under pretence of I know not what indisposition, to leave the body he commanded; and deferting his own army, he hid himself amongst the baggage, whilst the two armies were engaged. Perhaps he flattered himself, that the danger of the battle and Antony's courage would free him from an ambitious colleague, and that, without exposing his person, he should alone reap the fruits of his victory. don't we honour his understanding too much in this conjecture, when all this might easily proceed from his natural fearfulness of temper? What may incline us to believe, that on this occasion he was only actuated by a lively and strong impression of fear, is, that every body knows what railleries he afterwards was forced to bear from Antony, who reproached him, that in a fea-fight against young Pompey, he never had the courage to fee the engagement betwixt the two fleets; but that, laid down in the ship, with his eyes lift up to Heaven like a man in a trance, he never showed himself to his foldiers, till news was brought him that his enemies were fled.

What a prodigious and incoherent mixture of opposite qualities in the same man! and especially

[†] Plut. in Anton.

in a man that aspired to render himself master of the whole world! In him we fee an exalted, bold. audacious genius, capable of forming the greatest projects, yet incapable of facing cooly the least danger, and that showed no courage but in council, and where there was no need of venturing his perfon in the execution.

He was very foon fenfible, that this quality, most necessary in a general, was wanting in him; yet though he was confcious of this weakness in himfelf, it abated nothing of his ambition. He contented himself with calling another man's valour to his aid. He borrowed, as it were, Agrippa's courage: he made him general of his forces. But always intent on the principal object of his undertaking, he chose for so important and nice an employment a mere foldier of fortune, and confequently one incapable of creating any jealoufy, or making himself head of a party. Of all the republicans, there remained only young Pompey, who had feized on the island of Sicily, whence he very much infested the coasts of Italy. The business was to force him out of a retreat, which served besides for an afylum to an abundance of persons proscribed, who might perhaps revive the cause of liberty. But Augustus had no shipping. Macenas, his first minister, his favourite, and the ablest manager of a treaty in those days, cunningly obtained thips from Antony, although it was fo much that triumvir's interest to maintain young Pompey in that island, to serve him as a kind of barrier against the ambition of Augustus, which he had always so much reason to dread. Agrippa, on the other hand, equips a fleet; goes in quest of the enemy, beats Pompey's lieutenants, defeats him in feveral engagements, and at last drives him quite out of the island. But being as modest, or rather as subtile a courtier as he was a great general, he refuses the honours of the triumph, which the Romans used

to decree to victorious commanders; convinced. faid he, as Dion relates, that a good general ought to neglect nothing to bring his Prince's defigns to a good iffue; but that, when he met with fuccess, he ought to refer all the glory to him, as his mafter, and the principal author of the undertaking. gustus, now victorious over the whole Republican party, thought it time to fall out with his colleagues. He was refolved to reign alone; and, in order to it, to rid himfelf of his two colleagues or coheirs, whom fortune had forced him to affociate in this

inheritance of his uncle's power.

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He attacked them one after another. Lepidus's ruin he purchased at the expence of a few intrigues. That Triumvir, little beloved of his foldiers, faw himself abandoned by them in his very camp. Augustus became master of it by his cunning and fecret negociations, in which he outdid all mankind: under various pretences he divested his Colleague of the fovereign power. That Triumvir was afterwards feen reduced to lead a private life, and fo unfortunate, that he became an object of compassion even to his greatest enemies. Antony, adored by his foldiers, mafter of the best part of Asia and all Egypt, and who had mighty kings in his party, and for his allies, gave Augustus more trouble. But his ruin was occasioned by what should have been his chief resource. That great general, intoxicated with a violent passion for Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, and being mafter of her dominions, thought he should find therein as many forces as he met with charms in the embraces of that princess. That excess of security made him neglect the care of Rome and Italy, the centre of the empire. Augustus took advantage of it, and fettled his authority there. The jealoufy concerning the administration fo natural betwixt powers equal in dignity, often made them fall out: Octavia, Antony's wife and Caefar's fifter, and others L1 3

of their common friends, at various times, healed up their breaches. But at last they took up arms against each other: they came to a battle; and the naval fight near Actium decided the empire of the world betwixt those two celebrated rivals. Cafar having gained the victory, purfued Antony even Year of into Egypt, and seduced him to kill himself. By his death, and the forced abdication of Rome, Lepidus, which happened fix years before 723. the battle of Actium, that prince faw himfelf at last at the height of his wishes, fole master, and fole fovereign. It was not doubted, but he would build a new monarchy on the ruins of the ancient commonwealth: but fo great a change made him very uneafy. The Romans' love of liberty, and the ides of March, were continually prefent to his mind. Julius Cæfar, his uncle, murdered in the midst of the Senate, by those very men whom he thought the most devoted to his person, made him fear there might arise another Brutus, and some desperate republican, who, to restore liberty to his country, would murder him in his very throne. The passion of fear, which was so patural to him, out-weighed in his foul the charms of a fatiated ambition; and in those agitations, which allowed him no rest, he deliberated, whether he should declare himfelf the king of those, of whom, from the very beginning of the Triumvirate, he had made himfelf the tyrant. At last he held a private consultation with Agrippa and Mæcenas, his two chief minifters, and the principal instruments of his greatness; and he deliberated with them, whether he should restore the commonwealth to its ancient state, or retain the fovereign power.

The historian Dion of Nicea, in the 52d book of his history, has preserved to us the different opinions of those two great men. Agrippa, sensible only of that fort of glory which is acquired by great actions, openly declared for a generous abdication. He

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He set before Augustus, the dangers that attended an empire insupportable to free people, and men educated in a commonwealth. The different examples of Sylla and Cæsar were not omitted; and he encouraged that prince to show the universe, by restoring liberty to his country, that the only motive for his taking up arms had been, to revenge his father's murder.

But Mæcenas, without dwelling much on showing to Augustus the most shining parts of a crown, took him by his foible, and remonstrated to him, that he had done too much to go back; that after so much bloodshed, there could be no safety for him any where but on the throne; and that he would no sooner have divested himself of the sovereign power, but he would see himself attacked and prosecuted by the children and friends of so many illustrious attainted persons, whom the missortune of the times had forced him to sacrifice to his safety.

Augustus, without embracing or rejecting wholly either advice, took a third courfe, which he thought the fafest. He refolved, according to Mæcenas's advice, still to retain the fovereign power, but without taking the title of king, fo odious in a commonwealth. He rejected that of perpetual Dictator for the fame reason, as having cost his great uncle his life; and he contented himself with the common title of Imperator, which the foldiers, during the times of the republic, used to give to victorious generals, and which he took only to familiarize the Romans to a new and till then unknown authority concealed under a known title. He kept at the same time all the dignities and offices of the state to himself. There were indeed still at Rome, during his reign, Confuls, Prætors, Ædiles, and other magistrates of the republic; an image of the ancient government. These magistrates did even perform all the offices of those dignities, though they all at the bottom depended upon a superior power,

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which made them act according to its own private ends and interest.

Augustus, to accustom the Romans by degrees to his government, declared publicly, that he did not intend to keep the fovereign power in his hands longer than ten years, and that he would lay it down with pleafure, as foon as he should have restored peace and quietness to the state. Under different pretences, he renewed this declaration every ten years, protesting that he had no other view in retaining that power, besides felf-preservation, and the fear of the refentment of his enemies. However, that he might give them as it were a pledge and a foretaste of liberty, he divided with the Senate the governments of the provinces: but in this partition, he allotted them only fuch as were in the centre of the empire, and could be governed without armies or garrifons. And to have a pretence for keeping the legions always under his own command, he took upon himfelf to provide for those frontier provinces, that were exposed to the incurfions of Barbarians.

The people, by his care and application, faw plenty flourish anew. Cæsar, now and then, amused them with games and shows, which by degrees softened the too great sierceness of the Roman temper. Thus did that prince, by so artful a conduct, insensibly accustom men freeborn to bear with slavery, and made a new monarchy supportable to ancient commonwealthmen.

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ix.138, et feq. his money distributed among the grandees at Rome, Supplies him with further means of supporting his usurpations, ix. 139. is summoued to Rome; he comes, and is convicted of having also murdered another grandson of Massinilla; he is ordered to depart the city immediately, ix. 141. et feq he amuses the Roman generals : he insenfibly draws them to an engagement, beats them, and makes those that were left alive pass beneath the yoke, ix. 146, et feq. lofes two battles to Metel-Jus, and is stript of his main strength, ix. 150. puts himself under the protection of a neighbouring king called Bocchus, ix. 161. lofes two decifive battles to Marius, ix. ibid. is delivered up by Bocchus to the Romans, ix. 162. et feq. is dragged after Marins's triumphal carr, then thrown into a dungeon, where he is starved to death, ix. 163.

Lepidus (M. Emilius) attempts to make himfelf master of the government, xi. 247. is created first Consul, and declares for the people, xi. 248. raises in Gallia Cisalpina a powerful army, with which he advances to the gates of Rome, where he deseats Catulus, xi. 249. retires to Sardinia, and dies there, xi. 250.

Licinius Stolo, a Plebeian by birth, extends his ambitious views even to the Confolate, vii. 42. begins with getting himself made a Tribune of the people, vii. 43. proposes divers laws, by means where of he hopes to get one to pass for admitting Plebeians into the Consulship, vii. ib. gets himself continued Tribune, vii. 50, et seq. carries his point of associating Plebeians into the Consulate; is himself made Consul, vii. 53. is the first man that is fined for violating the Lex Licinia, of which himself was the author, vii. 55.

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Manlius (M.) drives the Gauls from the capitol, vii. 26. has a house granted him fituate on the Capitol, as a monument of his valour, vii. 30. being driven by his ambition to aspire to the roy-

alty, is thrown down from the top of the Capitol,

vii. 32, et feg.

Manlius (T.) a bold action of that youth, to deliver his father, who was accused of being cruel to him, viii. 59. he kills a Gaul of a gigantic sta-

ture, and is furnamed Torquatus, viii. 60.

Marius (Caius) his birth and character, ix. 149. his exercife of the Tribunate, ix. 150. is fent into Numidia in quality of Metellus's lientenant, ix. 151. his hatred to that general, his benefactor, ix. 1;3. he folicits the Consulate, and obtains it, ix. 154. takes on him the command of the armies against Jugurtha, ix. 159. defeats that prince in two decifive battles, ix. 160. brings him captive to Rome, ix. 163, is continued in the Confulate: his triumph, ix. ib. his victories against the Cimbri and Teutones, x. 166. jealous of the reputation and credit of Metellus, he compasses his exile, x. 158. he departs Rome after Metellus is recalled, and goes away to Mithridates, x. 175. on his return to Rome, he finds but few friends, and a very cold reception, x. 177 his jealoufy of Sylla, x. ib. endeavours to supplant that Conful in the command of the armies against Mithridates, x. 187. a tumult on this occasion, wherein many citizens are murdered, x. 180. is forced to get a. way, x. 190. is declared an enemy of the Roman people, and a reward fet on his head, x. 192. the dangers he went through in his flight, x. 202, et feg. fends to offer his fervice to Cinna; and feveral Roman foldiers who had ferved under him, embrace the same party, x. 204. re-enters Rome, where he exercises great cruelties in way of revenge, x. 209. his death, x. 213.

Marins, son of Caius Marins, is involved in his father's difgrace, x. 194. his escape from Mandrestal, x. 201, et seq. after his father's death, unites strictly with Cinna, and practises fresh cruelties in Rome, xi. 215. renews his alliance with the Samnites, who declare in his favour, xi. 230. is made Consul, xi. ib. loses a battle to Sylla, and shuts himself up in Præneste, xi. 221.

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after the taking of that place, being unable to escape by subterraneous passages, he kills him-self, xi. 238, et seq.

Merula, (Lucius) priest of Jupiter, is made Consul in the room of Cinna, x. 198. lays down.the Con-

fulship, x. 208. his death, x. 2.9.

Metellus drives Jugurtha to the extreme parts of his dominions, and strips him of his main strength, ix. 143, et seq. leaves with regret the command of his army to Marius, and returns to Rome to receive the honours of the triumph, ix. 157. is banish'd Rome through the cabals of Marius, x. 169. sixes his abode in the island of Rhodes, x. 170. is recalled, x. 172.

Metellus, (Cecilius) why furnamed Pius, x. 173. unable to gain his ends of Marius by war, and feeing the affairs of Rome in a hopeless condition, he banishes himself from his country, and retires towards Liguria, x. 209. he brings Sylla a considerable body of troops, xi. 223. he cuts in pieces the army of Carbo and Norbanus, xi 232.

Mithridates, his character and conquests, x. 185. after losing back almost all the advantages he had before gained, he makes peace with Sylla, xi. 220, et seq. he resumes the sword, and treats with Ser-

torius, xi. 255.

OPimius, during his Consulfin, takes on him to disannul all the laws of the Gracchi, ix. 124. he is empowered by the Senate to arm against Caius Gracchus, ix. 126. he puts a reward upon his head, and entirely ruins his party, ix. 127. he pays for Caius's head seventeen pounds weight and an half of gold, ix. 130. he builds a temple to Concord, ix. ib. he gives way to Jugurtha's bribery, and makes sale of his faith and honour to that prince, ix. 135. is summoned before the assembly of the people, and banished Rome, ix. 144.

PErpenna retires into Spain with the shattered remains of the troops of Lepidus and Brutus,
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xi. 250, et feq. is abandoned by his foldiers, who take up their colours, and force him to join Sertorius, xi. 252. he canses that general to be assistanted in a banquet, xi. 256. Pompey causes his head to be struck off, xi. 257.

Plebeians, after various contests about filling one of the two places of the Consulate, obtain what they had with so much vehemence demanded, and are beholden to a woman's tears for it, vii. 41. they share with the nobility all the honours and dignities of the republic, viii. 64.

Pompeius, (Cueius) known by the name of Pompey the Great, espoules Sylla's party; his first exploits, xi. 226. defeats eight legions of Marins's party, xi. 2:2. cuts in pieces near Clufium twenty thoufand men of the same party, xi. 234 is sent into Spain against Sertorius, xi. 251. after some ill fuccess, he puts an end to the war, and causes Perpenna's head to be chopt off, xi. 253, et feq. returning to Spain, he defeats the remains of Spartacus's party, xi. 259. obtains the Confulate and triumph, xi. 261, terminates the war against the pyrates, xi. 262. goes over into Afia, to take on him the conduct of the war against Mithridates, xii. 267. his interview with Lucullus, who commanded the Roman troops; and the repreachings that pass between those two generals, xii, 268, et seq. returns to Rome conqueror of Mithridates and Tigranes, xiii. 310, et feq. unites closely with Cæsar, and vigorously supports his pretensions, xin. 316, et feq. becomes Cæsar's irreconcileable enemy, and takes against him the command of the armies, xiii. 331, et feq. loses the battle of Pharfalia, and perifies in Egypt, XIII. 343.

Pratorship, its establishment and duty, vii. 54.

REgulus, (M. Attilius) his character, viii. 71. his victories over the Carthaginians, viii. 72. his poverty, viii. ib. he loses a battle to the Carthaginians, and is taken prisoner, viii. 74. is sent to Rome on his parole, to make proposals of peace; he exhorts the Romans to continue the war, then returns

returns to Carthage, where he perifhes amidft most

exquisite torments, viii. 75.

Romans wage war against the Samnites, viii. 61. their first war with the Carthaginians, viii. 69. they grant them peace on very hard terms, viii. 76. the war begun again, viii. ibid. they lose serveral battles to Hannibal, viii. 77. they take fresh courage, viii. 73. deseat the Carthaginians in several battles, and ruin Carthage, viii. 80, et seq. their conquests in Greece and Asia, viii. 82. wage war against Jugurtha, ix. 132, et seq.

Rome, taken and burnt by the Gauls, vii. 22. rebuilt, vii. 29. Hannibal reduces it to the brink

of destruction, viii. 77.

Rullus (Publius Servilius), Tribune of the people, conceals his ambitious deligns under the veil of projecting the benefit of the people by a law for dividing the conquered lands, xii. 280. Cicero, by his wisdom and eloquence, disappoints him, and renders his project fruitless, xii. 284, et seq.

Saturnius, combines with Marius and Glaucia to ruin Metellus, x. 168. causes Nonius to be stabled for being preferred before him in the election of Tribunes, and causes himself to be named in his room, x. 169. causes Metellus to be bauished, x. 170. becomes odious on account of his cruelties; is knocked on the head by the populace, x. 172, et seq.

Scipio (Publius) faves his father's life in the battle of Telinum, viii. 77. reanimates the courage of the Romans, dispirited with their losses, viii. 78. drives the Carthaginians out of Spain, viii. 81. goes over into Africa, and cuts in pieces Hanni-

bal's army, viii. ibid.

Scipio, fon of Paulus Æmilius, ruins Carthage, vili. 82. oppofes the making Agrarian laws; is found

dead in his bed, ix. 118, et feq.

Sextius (L.) a Plebeian, combines with Licinius to get the Plebeians to be made capable of the Confulate, vii. 43. he begins by procuring the Tribuneship for himself, 7. 44. proposes divers laws,

by the means of which he hopes to get one paffed for admitting the Plebeians into the Consulate, vii. ib. he has the art to get himself continued many years in the Tribunate, vii 51, et seq. is the first Plebeian Consul Rome ever had, vii. 53.

Spartacus, a gladiator, puts himfelf at the head of a vast number of run-away slaves, and obtains divers victories over the Romans, xi. 257, et seq. descated by Crassus, and killed in the fight, where-

in he fells his life dear, xi. 250.

Sylla, (Lucius Cornelius) his character, ix. 1:9 is fent into Numidia in quality of Questor of Marius's army, ix. 160. engages Bocchus to deliver Jugurtha up to him, ix 162. his skill in the trade of war, x. 177, is chosen Consul, and has a commission decreed him to make war on Mithridates, x. 18, refuses to yield up the command of the army to Marius, who had procured it for himself, x. 188. enters Rome with his army, and drives thence Marius and all his adherents, x. 189. annuls several laws, and makes new ones, x. 190. gets Marius and his partizans declared enemies of the Roman people, x. 193. his complaints to the Senate on account of Marius's cruelties, *. 211. after obtaining several advantages over Mithridates, he makes peace with that prince, xi. 219, et feq. marches against Fimbria, and entices away his foldiers, xi. 222, et feq. returns to Italy, where he's joined by feveral great generals, xi. 223. by craft and bribery becomes matter of Scipio's army, xi. 227, et feq. defeats Norbanus, xi. 229. defeats Marins, and belieges him in Præneste, xi. 230. obtains over the Samnites a fignal victory, and delivers Rome then belieged. by those people, xi. 234. seizes Præneste, and causes the inhabitants throats to be cut, xi. 238. returns to Rome, where he practifes un-heard of barbarities, xi. ibid. et feq. gets himself nominated perpetual Dictator, and governs in a most tyrannical manner, xi. 241, et feq. abdicates the supreme power, and degrades himself to the condition of a common citizen, xi. 246. Senate,

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Senators, the ancient Senators and priests generously devote themselves to death, and are inhumanly butchered by the Gauls, vii. 20, et seq. most of the Senators and grandees of Rome obtained to be owned lawful possessors of the conquered lands, on condition to pay a rent of acknowledgment, which they do not long perform, ix. 133. part of the Senators and grandees of Rome suffer themselves to be corrupted by Jugurtha's bribes, ix.

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Sertorius (Quintus) takes up arms for Cinna, x. 198. the advice he gives that general concerning Marius's offers, x. 204. masters part of Spain, xi. 229. the soldiers under Perpenna force their general to join him, xi. 251. his skill in war gives him several advantages over Pompey, xi. 252. his reputation engages Mithridates to treat with him, xi. 254. is murdered at a banquet, xi. 256.

Telesinus, at the head of a strong reinforcement of Samnites, espouses the cause of young Manius, xi. 230 marches to Rome, with full resolution to put all to fire and sword, and not to spare a soul, xi. 234. loses a pitched battle with Silla, and is killed in the sight himself, xi. 237.

Tribunes of the people, procure a fine to be fet upon two military Tribunes, for difagreeing at the head of the armies, vii. 8, et feq. inveigh against Camillus, and force him to take refuge in Ardea, vii. 16. are so turbulent, that at last they obtain for the Plebeians a share in the Consulate, vii.

Tribunes (Military) their number again increased,

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V

V Alerius Flaccus, being created Conful, goes over into Asia with an army against Mithridates, under pretext that the war Sylla was earrying on against that prince, was undertaken without confent of the Senate, xi. 216, et feq. is killed by his lieutenant Fimbria, xi. 217.

Valerius (M.) kills a Gaul in fingle fight, and being affilled therein by a raven, acquires the name of

Corvus, viii. 6r.

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